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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIVES AND WRITINGS

OF THOSE

Eminent Divines,

WHO CONVENED IN

THE FAMOUS

ASSEMBLY AT WESTMINSTER,

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY JAMES REID,
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

"The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance," PSALM cxii. 6.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

BIOGRAPHY is highly useful and important. It hath been very generally esteemed: and it is commonly allowed to be, both a very pleasant and profitable method of conveying instruction unto the human mind. But here, I shall willingly borrow, from some celebrated writers, and gratefully acknowledge the debt. Montesquieu said, "What histories can be found, that please and instruct like the lives of Plutarch?" And Plutarch himself hath observed, "I live entirely upon history, and while I contemplate the pictures it presents to my view, my mind enjoys a rich repast from the representation of great and virtuous characters." Another celebrated writer says, "Among the smaller histories, *biography*, or the memoirs of the lives of great and good men, has a high rank in my esteem, as worthy of the perusal of every person who devotes himself to the study of *divinity*. Therein we frequently find our holy religion reduced to practice, and many parts of christianity shining with a transcendent and examplary light. We learn there how deeply sensible great and good men have been of the ruins of human nature by the first apostacy from God; and how they have toiled and laboured, and turned themselves on all sides, to seek recovery in vain, till they have found the gospel of Christ an all-sufficient relief. We are there furnished with effectual and unanswerable evidences that the religion of Jesus with all its self-denials, virtues, and devotions, is a very practicable thing, since it has been carried to such a degree of honour by some wise and holy men. We have been there assured, that

the pleasures and satisfactions of the christian life, in its present practice and its future hopes, are not the mere raptures of fancy and enthusiasm, when some of the strictest professors of reason have added the sanction of their testimony. In short, the *lives* or *memoirs* of persons of piety, well written, have been of infinite and unspeakable advantage to the disciples and professors of christianity, and have given us admirable instances and rules how to resist every temptation of a soothing or a frowning world, how to practise important and difficult duties, how to love God above all, and to love our neighbours as ourselves, to live by the faith of the Son of God, and to die in the same faith, in sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life."[a] Another observes, that "the lives of good men should be often in the hands of students of divinity. All men are interested in biographical works. These come home to our own heart and bosom. These shew what men are and have been, and what we may be through grace. Faithful biographical sketches are mighty excitements to the love and practice of religion, and the lives of faithful diligent ministers are of great use in the church."[b] From them we may readily learn how to conquer every habit that would obstruct us in the work of the Lord, how to redeem time, and to win souls to Christ. And, by their inviting example, warmly urging imitation, we may learn to be sincerely active, and resolutely passive, for Christ, and for his cause.

The design of this publication is not to "lavish encomiums on the exploits of ambitious tyrants, and bloody wide-wasting conquerors;" but to hold up to the reader's admiration, and imitation, eminently learned and religious characters, glowing with that christian zeal which is *according to knowledge*, and indefatigably diligent, in propagating the spiritual kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. Such amiable characters are much more entitled to the remembrance of mankind, than many of those great names which stand very high on the roll of fame,

a Watts' Improvement of the Mind, part i. chap. xx. sect. 14.
b Christian Magazine, vol. v. p. 250.

and have obtained a place among the admired writers. It is justly observed, that "historians and poets have sometimes exerted the whole force of their genius, in order to throw a lustre on the most detestable characters, and to varnish, with false colouring, the most destructive passions; while men of genuine worth have passed uncelebrated, and those labours, which tend to civilize and bless mankind, have shared but a small portion of their envied praise. Hereby they have done much injury. It is high time for them to act on a different system."[a] The life of that *great* monster of ambition and of human depravity, Alexander, has been written by many historians, or rather most fulsome panegyrists, who would have been much better employed in burying his memory in everlasting oblivion; except so far as they serve to shew what terrible and cruel scourges to the human race such dreadful ravagers of the world have been.[b] It is, therefore, high time, indeed, for the professors of christianity, the followers of *The Prince of Peace*, to act on a very different system, from those above-mentioned; and to exhibit faithful portraitures of those who have been eminently distinguished, in their generation, by their learning, their disinterested benevolence to their fellow-creatures, their laudable exertions in the cause of truth, and their piety toward God. Such persons, in any station, are justly entitled to respectful notice. And, as we always ought to esteem very highly the image and grace of God in persons of any nation or station, whether *Jews or Gentiles*, *bond or free*, *male or female;* so much respect is due both to the characters and memories of those who possess these: for *the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance*. Agreeably to this remark, much respect, undoubtedly, must be due unto both the characters and memories of faithful, able, and pious, ministers of the gospel of Christ. Such *are ambassadors for Christ*, assiduously employed, in God's name, and in Christ's stead, to entreat and beseech sinners of the human race, to *be*

a Monthly Review enlarged, vol. v. p. 342.
b See Monthly Review, vol. xiv. p. 435.

reconciled unto God, 2 Cor. v. 20. And, certainly, some tribute is due to the memories of these servants of the living God, who have been indefatigably diligent, faithful and zealous, in *serving him with their spirit in the gospel of his Son.*

Among such respectable characters, the divines who assembled at Westminster, in the seventeenth century, may be justly ranked. Their names are truly illustrious, and worthy of being enrolled among the most celebrated characters of their age, or of their country. Their exemplary lives, and religious experiences, are most excellent mirrors of instruction, which may be highly beneficial to all succeeding generations. They willingly spent an active life, in propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ, and in diffusing profitable and religious knowledge among mankind: and it may very justly be said of them, that they were really *eyes to the blind.* Whatever their hand could write, whatever their tongue could speak, whatever their head could devise, was most solemnly dedicated to the service of God, and to the cause of truth. They did much for the benefit of posterity, when corruption was deeply rooted, and had widely extended it's baneful influence. They flourished, during the time of our Reformation, and were very active in promoting it.

It is justly observed, that, "the rise and progress of the Reformation, in the different countries of Europe, must ever be regarded as presenting one of the most important and striking objects that hath occurred in the revolutions of the human mind, and in the history of the world."[c] And the period of Reformation shines with peculiar lustre in the British annals; and our reforming ancestors ought to be gratefully remembered. All who wish well to society will highly honour their memories; and cheerfully pay their tribute of respect unto them, *after they have served their own generation by the will of God, are fallen asleep, and are gathered unto their fathers.* We happily enjoy the precious fruits of that great

[c] Universal Magazine, vol. lxxxv. p. 293.

and providential *national deliverance*, the Reformation, though we are but little thankful for them. Nor have we religiously regarded, as we ought, the wonderful operation of the Lord's hand, in seasonably raising up the honoured instruments of this glorious work. And, we have not sufficiently valued either the memorials of the lives, or of the writings of our illustrious reformers. It is high time for us to amend, and to learn from others. Memoirs of the lives of heathen philosophers, of the notable statesmen and warriors of antiquity, have been very highly valued. Plutarch's lives of the famous Greeks and Romans have been so highly esteemed by the learned, and accounted a treasure of such utility and importance, that some have affirmed, "if it were proposed to destroy all the literary works of the Pagan world, except one, Plutarch's lives should be preserved as the most pleasing, instructive and useful." And certainly the lives of our illustrious reformers are not less worthy of esteem. And their writings may be accounted the best wealth, which they could leave behind them at their death, for the benefit of posterity. They contain useful truths; serving to inform the understanding, and to affect the heart and the life. And if they fail to reform, and to be beneficial to this age and country, they may, perhaps, operate upon succeeding generations, and the inhabitants of other countries, and extend their influence to the remotest posterity, under the blessing of God. Other writers, no doubt, have, in later times, advanced beyond them in some things; but they have at least cleared the road, and much facilitated the progress of their successors. And modern improvements are often little more than a revival of the learning of former times, with some alterations, especially in the composition of the English language.

As the particular design of this publication is to give some view of the lives and writings of those eminent divines, who met in the famous Assembly at Westminster; the bright, learned, and pious, constellation, which adorned that very active period of the Reformation, it may probably be expected, that some account should be given

of that Assembly, and of the period of the Reformation, in this preface. Supposing that this may be the expectation of some, the following remarks are offered, concerning the occasion and nature of this truly venerable Assembly, and the times, as a key to these memoirs. When King James, the VI. of Scotland, ascended the English throne, upon the union of the two crowns, in the year 1603, he keenly aimed at arbitrary power, and the establishment of episcopacy in his dominions. He distinguished the bishops with very peculiar marks of his favour, extended their power, increased their prerogative, and publicly adopted and inculcated the following maxim; *No Bishop, no King.* He was now a most zealous defender of episcopal government, though he had oftener than once expressed himself against it in the strongest terms. King James died, in the year 1625. His son and successor Charles the I. was confirmed by education, in every speculative tenet which his father had adopted, and had fully imbibed his father's principles. He keenly and resolutely followed the steps of his father, and viewed episcopacy as congenial to monarchy. He used every effort, to extend the royal prerogative, and raise the power of the crown above the authority of the law, to bring all the churches in *Great Britain and Ireland*, under the jurisdiction of bishops, and to suppress the opinions and institutions that were peculiar to Calvinism. William Laud, bishop of London, who was afterward raised, in the year 1633, to the see of Canterbury, was chiefly intrusted by the king with the execution of this arduous plan.[a]

King Charles made a journey to Scotland, his native kingdom, in the year 1633, attended by the court, in order to hold a parliament there, and to receive his crown. The coronation was performed by the archbishop of St Andrew's, but this, though very splendid, was rendered less impressive by the introduction of an altar, and of unaccustomed rites, which the people view-

a Laing's Hisory of Scotland, vol. i. books 1. & 2. Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. v. cent. xvii. sect. ii. part ii. chap. ii. xix. xx.

ed with abhorrence, and were not able to distinguish from the Romish mass. These innovations were ascribed to Laud, whose ascendency over the king began to be perceptible, and his imprudent interference in ecclesiastical affairs was highly offensive to the Scottish nation. It was observed at the coronation, that this haughty prelate displaced the archbishop of Glasgow with the most indecent violence from the king's side, because that moderate prelate scrupled to officiate in the embroidered habits prescribed for his order.[a] The earl of Clarendon, the famous English historian on the king's side, readily allows, that when king Charles made this journey to Scotland, to be crowned there, he carried with him the resolution of propagating episcopacy in that kingdom, and of bringing the church of Scotland to a conformity with the church of England, in all things. For that end, Laud, who was then bishop of London, attended the king in his journey, which, as he was dean of the chapel, he was not obliged to do, and no doubt would have been excused from, if that design had not been in view; to accomplish which he was no less solicitous than the king himself, nor the king the less solicitous for his advice. He preached in the royal chapel at Edinburgh, which scarcely any English man had ever done before in the king's presence, and principally upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the church.[b] An episcopal see was erected at Edinburgh, the metropolis of the kingdom, with a diocese extending over ancient Lothian, from the Forth to Berwick; the fairest church in the town was appointed to be the cathedral, and a competent revenue was settled upon the bishop, out of the lands purchased by the king himself, from the duke of Lennox, who sold these much the cheaper, that they might be consecrated to that end.[c]

a Laing's Hist. B. ii. 1633.

b Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. B. i. p. 81 & 82.

N. B. I have generally used Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Oxford, 1712, in 6 vols. though I have also consulted the folio edition, and sometimes refer to it.

c Laing's Hist. vol. i. B. ii. p. 104. Clarendon, vol. i. B. i. p. 86.

The Scots generally thought, that they had too many bishops before, and this increase of the number was not very agreeable to them. The king returned to England about the end of August, in the year 1633, according to Clarendon. Immediately after his return, he heard the report of archbishop Abbot's death: and, without delay, he conferred that high dignity on his favourite, Laud, who now succeeded Abbot in the see of Canterbury. This business was very quickly dispatched; for we are told, that about a month after the death of the good and grave archbishop Abbot, Laud was completely invested with that high dignity, and settled in his palace at Lambeth. And, by this accession of power, he was now enabled to maintain ecclesiastical discipline with greater rigour, and to aggravate the general discontent in the nation.[a] A respectable historian applies to Laud, what was said of Boniface, "He entered like a fox, he reigned like a lion, and he died like a dog."[b] Juxon, a particular favourite of Laud, was, by his influence, made bishop of London.[c] And, upon the death of the earl of Portland, the archbishop was made one of the commissioners of the treasury, and had interest enough to engage the king to make bishop Juxon high treasurer, one of the highest offices of the crown. The greatest of the nobility, who were in the chiefest employments, expected that this great and beneficial office would be conferred upon one of them: but all were much astonished, when, suddenly, the staff was put into the hands of the bishop of London, a man so little known, that his name was scarcely heard of in the kingdom, who had been, within two years before, but a private chaplain to the king, and the president of a poor college in Oxford. This unexpected promotion gave very great and general offence. The puritans, also, were much dissatisfied with Juxon; and had sufficient reason.[d]

The king continued to raise the bishops to secular

a Clarendon, vol. i. p. 89. Hume's Hist. vol. vi. chap. lii. 1633.
b Stevenson, vol. i. p. 115.
c Clarendon, vol. i. B. i. p. 91.
d Clarendon, vol. i. p. 98 & 99. and Hume, as above.

offices. Upon the death of the earl of Kinnoul, chancellor of Scotland, Spottiswood, archbishop of St Andrew's, was made chancellor, who was ambitious in his old age to unite the first office of the state with that of the church. The great seal had never before been entrusted to an ecclesiastic since the Reformation. The lord treasurer's office, the next in dignity, was solicited by Maxwell, bishop of Ross. Of fourteen prelates, nine were already introduced into the privy council, where their numbers often preponderated, and their intolerable insolence oftentimes provoked disgust. Their pride was immoderate, and their presumption excessive. They readily procured a warrant from the infatuated and despotical monarch to establish subordinate courts of commission; and with six assistants whom they chose to associate with themselves, to exercise in each diocese the inquisitorial powers of the high commission. Greatly elated with their sudden and high exaltation, and presuming on the patient acquiescence of the nation in their lofty measures, they vainly imagined that there was no undertaking beyond their strength; but they reckoned without their host. To such men, the compilation of a liturgy and of canons was entrusted.[a]

Laud excited the king to order the framing of a liturgy or prayer-book for the use of the church of Scotland in her worship, and a book of canons for her government and discipline, and to impose these by royal and episcopal authority, without consent of parliament or of general assembly.[b] And the Scottish bishops were enjoined to prepare them, and trasmit them to Laud, who, with Juxon and Wren, revised and corrected them; and being approved and confirmed by the king, he issued his proclamation for the due observation of them within his kingdom of Scotland.[c] The canons, the more concise production, were first compiled. And they were con-

a Clarendon, vol. i. page 87, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107. Laing, vol. i. B. ii. 1636. Burnet's Hist. of his own times, vol. i. p. 32.
b Stevenson, vol. i. p. 131.
c Clarendon, as above.

firmed by the royal supremacy, which was itself inversely confirmed, and extended by the canons to a full power over the church; requiring that national, or general assemblies should be called *only* by the king's authority; —that none should receive the sacrament but upon their knees; that the clergy should not even conceive an extemporary prayer, but be bound to pray *only* by the form which was prescribed in the liturgy; and that no man should teach a public school, nor in a private house, without a license first obtained from the archbishop of the province, or the bishop of the diocese. And the consecration and power of the prelates were strongly secured from challenge, by the awful penalty of excommunication, much aggravated by confiscation and outlawry, it's civil effects.

Sessions and presbyteries were indirectly suppressed, under the description of irregular conventicles: and their powers were wantonly transferred to the tribunal of the bishops; lay-elders were dismissed from the church, and the whole beautiful structure of presbyterian jurisdiction was at once demolished. A font was ordered to be placed in the entrance, and an altar in the chancel, of the church; the one, in the opinion of the presbyterians, for consecrated water, the other for the idolatrous oblation of the host. And their suspicions were strongly confirmed by several superstitious injunctions; that the remains of the elements, as if actually transubstantiated, should be consumed in the church by the poorer communicants; that ordination, like a real sacrament, should be restricted to four seasons of the year; that the penitent's confessions, a sure sign of auricular confession, should be concealed by the clergy. And the last canon enjoined, that no person should be received into holy orders, suffered to preach, or administer the sacraments, without first subscribing these canons. The liturgy was transcribed from that of the English, with some alterations, which approached nearer to the Romish missal. The consecration of the elements was a prayer expressive of the real presence, and their elevation from the altar of an actual oblation. Thanks were given for de-

parted saints, of whom the calender received a large addition appropriated to Scotland; the cross was enjoined in baptism, and the ring in marriage, while the baptismal water was changed and consecrated twice a-month, and retained for future ministration in the font.[a] Laud was excessively superstitious; and he executed the plans of his royal master, with great rigour. He revived many rites and ceremonies, which were very strongly marked with the turpitude of superstition, that takes the place of religion, and had been very justly abrogated on that account. And he gave many and very plain intimations, that he viewed the Romish church, with all her errors, as purer, and preferable upon the whole, to those protestant churches that were not subject to the jurisdiction of bishops. Laud, by his sentiments, and by his violent measures, drew an odium on the king, on himself, and on the episcopal order in general.[b]

A report was soon spread, that the new liturgy was a translation of the mass, which the prelates had conspired with Laud to establish: and it was generally believed that the church was already undermined, and that the religion of the nation was about to be subverted. The alarm was speedily communicated to all ranks. And the manner in which the liturgy was imposed, by the regal and episcopal power, or rather tyranny, gave great offence. The advice of the privy council; the approbation of the aged and experienced prelates, and the consent of the General Assembly, were alike disregarded. Spottiswood remonstrated, but was obliged to co-operate, and the privy council were forcibly driven to concur in the design. A proclamation had been issued for a general conformity to the liturgy at Easter; but affairs were so badly concerted, that the publication of the service was delayed until the day had elapsed. Upon this, a charge was directed to the clergy, to purchase two copies for each parish; but the council still delayed to en-

a Clarendon, B. ii. vol. i. Laing, vol. i. B. ii. 1636, & 1637. Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 1.

b Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. v. cent. xvii. sect. ii. part ii. chap. ii. xx.

force the observance of the charge. The Scottish liturgy was arraigned as worse than the English, and not less impure than the mass itself. But the prelates, who had conspired with Laud and the king to establish it, warmly urged an implicit conformity to it, and threatened the contumacious with the severe penalties of the ecclesiastical censures with which the canons were sanctioned; depravation, outlawry, and the confiscation of their estates. It was about the month of July, in the year 1637, that the liturgy was published, and appointed to be read in all the churches.[a] When an order for the immediate observance of it was obtained from court, without the concurrence or knowledge of the privy council, this was intimated from the pulpit on the sabbath day immediately preceding it's introduction in Edinburgh. The people were greatly agitated by discourses and pamphlets against the liturgy, during that whole week, without any satisfactory recommendation of it: and the whole city was filled with complaints.[b] On sabbath, the 23d of July, the dean of Edinburgh prepared to officiate in St Gile's church, and the bishop of Argyle in the Grayfriars: and to increase the solemnity, each was attended by judges, prelates, a part of the council, and a large concourse of people, much excited by the novelty of the spectacle. The congregation continued quiet until the service began, when an aged woman, impelled by the ardour of her zeal, suddenly arose, and exclaimed aloud, "Villain! dost thou say the mass at my lug!" The greatest confusion instantaneously commenced: and the service was at once interrupted. From the examination of those who were apprehended, there is no appearance that this commotion originated from any secret instigation, or preconcerted design. The bishops keenly urged the service, throughout the rest of Scotland, but were generally unsuccessful, except at St Andrew's, and in the cathedrals of Brechin, Dumblain, and Ross.[c]

a Baillie's Letters, vol. i. lett. ii. Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. B. ii. p. 108. Laing's Hist. vol. i. B. ii. 1637.
b Baillie's Letters, as above.
c Laing, as above.

The former charge, to purchase or receive the liturgy, was executed by the chancellor against the celebrated Mr Henderson, and other nonconforming ecclesiastics, and pointedly directed by the archbishop of Glasgow against all the presbyteries within his diocese. Mr Henderson supplicated the council to suspend the charge, as the new service was not yet authorised by an assembly of the church, nor confirmed by the parliament. Similar petitions, from the presbyteries of Irvine and Glasgow, were warmly recommended by letters from the nobility, and the personal application of many private gentlemen. Mr Baillie says, "All the council were most earnest to satisfy the country, in holding off the yoke of that black book." But their representations were wantonly disregarded or suspected, by an infatuated monarch, who was inflexible in his pursuit of conformity.[a] Affairs now assumed a very serious aspect. The king severely reprehended the lenity of the council on this occasion; and peremptorily enjoined the immediate observance of the ritual. The numbers of the supplicants, who were against the liturgy, daily increased. Supplications were presented from two hundred parishes; and the recalling, or prohibition of the liturgy, would have dissipated every alarm, and removed every complaint, at this time. But two very injudicious proclamations were most inconsiderately issued, enjoining the supplicants to depart from Edinburgh; transferring the seat of government and of justice to Linlithgow; and suspending the consideration of ecclesiastical affairs. These proclamations gave great offence: and a formal accusation was prepared against the prelates, as the authors of a liturgy wherein the seeds of superstition and of idolatry were sown; and of canons whereby the constitution of the church was inverted. This was subscribed by the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, afterward by all ranks, and almost by every corporation in the kingdom.[b] As the late tumults were ascribed to the confluence of the supplicants, they appointed a few as representatives of the rest, in order to prosecute

a Baillie, vol. i. lett. ii. Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 24. 25. Laing. See Memoirs of Mr Henderson's Life.

b Baillie, vol. i. lett. iv. and Laing, as above.

their complaint against the prelates, and to await the result of their applications to the king. The council, not instructed by Charles, and fearing fresh commotions, acquiesced in the proposal, and a new order was instantly established. A proportion of the nobility was first appointed; and two of the gentry from each county, from each presbytery and borough, one or more of the ministers and burgesses were selected as commissioners for their respective orders. This was the institution of the justly celebrated Tables. The commissioners convened separately in the parliament house, and sat around tables, from which the association obtained the name. Rapin says, "The Tables were composed of the most able persons in Scotland."[a] And, they were every where obeyed, with the utmost regularity. Order and union were consolidated by this famous institution.

The supplicants were soon prohibited to assemble, by a proclamation from the king, under the penalties of treason, when they were asking nothing but the preservation of their religious liberties. An alarm was quickly communicated to the whole body of supplicants: and now their grievances must either be perpetuated by a tame submission, or the means of redress preserved by their spirited opposition to the unreasonable edict. And, when the proclamation was announced by heralds, a protest was taken by the lords Hume and Lindsay against it's authority, and, with due solemnity, published and affixed to the market-cross of Stirling, whither the council and courts of justice were removed, Feb. 1638. The Tables now warmly recommended judicious and solemn measures, to cement the union of the supplicants; the renewal of their memorable national covenant, which may be traced to the beginning of the Reformation, when the nobility, or lords of the congregation, by their bond or covenant, first undertook the protection of the infant church, with preparatory fasting and prayer.[b] They readily recollected, that their venerable ancestors had repeatedly bound

a Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. ii. B. xix. 1638. p. 305.
b See Knox's Hist. Reform. in Scotland.

themselves, in times of great danger, by a solemn covenant, to continue in the true protestant religion, and to support each other in that common cause, against all their enemies; and they gratefully followed the example. This famous covenant contained a general profession of the true christian faith and religion of the reformed churches; and a most minute renounciation of popery, including all that is contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness. And, it was wisely adapted to the innovations and corruptions which had been particularly mentioned in their late supplications, complaints, and protestations, and to the circumstances in which the covenanters were then placed, and herein it was very different from what was called the king's covenant, afterward enjoined. And, the defence of religion was particularly qualified by the conditional support of the king. It was sworn with the greatest alacrity and solemnity, and subcribed by persons of all ranks, both in the years 1638 and 1639; and approved by the General Assembly of the church of Scotland.[a] This solemn engagement was judiciously and successfully opposed to the king's illegal measures, which were subversive of the constitutional and religious rights of the nation. And, though every application of the covenanters was disdainfully rejected at court; and their petitions were contumeliously returned unopened; yet *their labour was not in vain in the Lord.* By that most famous assembly at Glasgow, toward the end of the year 1638, episcopacy, the high-commission, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were at once completely abolished, and solemnly declared to be unlawful: and presbyteries were restored to their original rights. And thus the whole baseless fabric, which James and Charles had reared with much care and policy, was levelled with the ground.[b]

It ought also to be observed here, that the puritans suffered exceedingly in England, during Laud's severe

a See The National Covenant, and Laing's Hist. vol. i. B. ii. 1638.

b For a more particular account of this famous assembly, and what followed in the most active period of the reformation, See Mr Henderson's Life.

administration. He loaded them with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction. He was much enraged by their nonconformity and faithfulness. And, Arminianism, the harbinger of popery, greatly prevailed, and was much countenanced, while he was high in place. Clarendon says that Laud had eminently opposed Calvin's doctrine all his life, before the name of Arminius was noticed, or his opinions heard of.[a] And, Laud wrote a small treatise in support of the Arminian doctrines; in the year 1625. And, by his great credit with the duke of Buckingham, he prevailed to have Arminian and anti-puritanical chaplains placed about the king. Upon this, the Arminian doctrines were promoted by the warmest encouragements, and daily gained ground under the protection of the court.[b] And such as have aimed at arbitrary power, have uniformly considered popery as the most convenient prop for despotism; and Arminianism as most conducive to the firm erection of this prop. And here, "the superinduction of popish ceremonies, was to clear the way for that of popish Arminianism: which two streams, when united in their course, were to have emptied themselves into the dead sea of arbitrary power. Or, such was the plan of that goodly pillar, which was to be erected, as a trophy, on the grave of departed liberty: Arminianism was to have been the base; popery the shaft; and tyranny the capital that should terminate the whole." [c]

Error now raged like the pestilence, and immorality and corruption overflowed the land like a flood. And as an unlimited power was exercised by the crown, the state, at the same time, groaned under an intolerable burden of oppression. The king very plainly intimated, both in his speeches and in his deportment, that he considered parliaments as chiefly designed to supply him with money, and in case of refusal, that he could proceed

a Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. B. i. p. 93.

b Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. v. cent. xvii. sect. ii. part. ii. chap. ii. xx. Lond. edit 1790.

c Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. i. sect. ii. foot-note: and vol. ii. sect. xx.

without their assistance. Accordingly, he dissolved several parliaments, because they did not readily grant the sums which he demanded. And, by their long intermission many very unwarrantable things were practised. And, upon their dissolution, the king attempted compulsory loans, or taxations imposed by his own arbitrary power, disguised under the name of *benevolences;* and the non-compliers were imprisoned: a striking violation of the liberty of the subject. And such numbers were thrown into prison, that the council-table now had almost as much work to provide prisons as to supply the king's necessities. And, that the ecclesiastics might contribute their share to the support of the monarch's arbitrary claims, sermons were preached by Sibthorpe and Munwaring, in favour of the general loan: and the court industriously spread them over the kingdom. Passive obedience was there warmly recommended in its full extent, the whole authority of the state was represented as belonging to the king *alone*, and all limitations of law and of a constitution were disdainfully rejected as seditious and impious. And the consent of the parliament was not accounted necessary for raising aids and subsidies. A commission was openly granted, to compound with the Roman catholics and to agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them, which was highly offensive to the king's protestant subjects. Complaints universally prevailed, that the people were reduced to slavery. The rights and liberties of the whole nation were most wantonly invaded. And all mankind were greatly astonished, when in such awful circumstances, the infatuated Charles, baffled in every attempt against the Austrian dominions, and much embroiled with his own subjects, most inconsiderately entered into a war with France.[a] The king's privy council became by degrees an absolute court, which considered itself above the laws. The court of star-chamber extended its power; and it was matter of complaint, that it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the other courts;

a Clarendon, vol. i. B. i. Hume's Hist. of England, vol. vi. chap. 50. Rapin's Hist. of England, B. xix.

imposing heavy fines and inflicting severe punishments, beyond the usual course of justice, upon those who pretended to dispute the royal prerogative. As Thucydides said of the Athenians, these courts "held for honourable, that which pleased, and for just, that which profited."[a] And the very arbitrary court of high-commission, which had assigned to it the defence of the ecclesiastical establishment, completely seconded the council and star-chamber, and under the excuse of preventing schism, greatly oppressed, as puritans, those who refused submission to an entirely despotic power.[b] And the authority of parliament being shaken off by dissolution, arbitrary power reigned absolutely without it, for eleven years. After this long intermission of parliaments, and after the king had tried many irregular methods of taxation, and amid his most pressing necessities, he summoned an English parliament to assemble in April, 1640. He designed that they should not have a long session, nor enter immediately upon grievances, and, therefore, he at once made application for large supplies of money, to carry on war against the Scots, whom many in the house regarded as their best friends, and firmest allies. The house of commons entered immediately upon grievances, according to the ancient practice of parliament, and the king hastily dissolved this parliament, as he formerly had done, which gave great and general offence.[c] He was now obliged to have recourse to other expedients, being disappointed of parliamentary subsidies. And, being unsuccessful in his unreasonable war with his Scottish subjects, he was reduced to extreme distress. The Scottish army gained a complete victory over the English, at Newburn upon Tyne, on the 28th Aug. 1640. To prevent the advance of the victorious army upon him, the king agreed to a treaty of peace, which was begun at Rippon, and afterward transferred to London. The causes of disgust, which had been long multiplied, were now come to full maturity, and threatened the British dominions with some dreadful convulsion. A

a Clarendon, as above, p. 68.
b Rapin, as above.
c Clarendon, vol. 1. B. ii. Hume, vol. vi. chap. liii.

parliament was generally and anxiously desired. When the despotic king, could not stem the overflowing torrent, he was obliged at last to yield to it. And the people being greatly and generally discontented, a parliament was called, denominated the long parliament, which met, Nov. 3d, 1640, and, from the situation of public affairs, could not be abruptly dissolved, and which was to execute every thing which was left unfinished by former parliaments. On the election of the commons, the most pious and patriotic members were returned to parliament. Dr Welwood affirms, that no age ever produced greater men than those who sat in this parliament.[a] The house of commons was full, and the members numerous, from the commencement of the meeting. And, greatly animated with a warm regard for liberty, those generous patriots viewed with regret the evils which prevailed, under the unlimited power which had been long exercised by the crown. A Pym, and a Hambden, were illustrious names in the cause of liberty. An examinaton of grievances, was the first object that engrossed their attention. And, in all they did, for some years, they closely pursued legal and constitutional measures. They mercifully relieved many prisoners, who were confined by the arbitrary courts above-mentioned, and some of them most cruelly handled, especially Mr Prynne, and Dr Leighton.[b] The star-chamber, high-commission, and other arbitrary courts, were suppressed or regulated; monopolies, ship-money, and other illegal exactions abolished; triennial parliaments were enacted to be held, and a bill passed for the continuance of this parliament, which could not be dissolved without the consent of both houses.

The Scottish commissioners were sent to London to conclude the treaty of pacification, where they were received with great veneration and esteem, and heartily concurred with the English parliament in promoting the work of reformation. Antholine's church was assigned them for their worship, when their chaplains, the eminent divines who

a Rapin. See their character by Clarendon, vol. i. B. iii. Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. vii. Vicar's England's Parliamentary Chronicle. p. 25.

b See Neal's Hist. as above.

attended them, preached. The celebrated Mr Henderson also took his turn here, who was one of the commissioners of the treaty in all matters relating to religion.[a] They greatly encouraged the petitions of the English, to abolish episcopacy root and branch. And their zeal was particularly conspicuous in the treaty, where they strongly urged as the firm basis of a permanent concord, an unity of religion, and uniformity of church government in both kingdoms, warmly recommending the presbyterian form.[b]

Some necessary concessions were now made in favour of the liberty of the subject; but after a very arbitrary reign of fifteen years, the concessions extorted from Charles were justly deemed insincere, and the constitution without proper security, unless the power by which it was invaded were circumscribed, and the repetition of grievances effectually prevented. And the king completely discovered himself, by a most imprudent and fatal step, which speedily produced the most dismal consequences. He preferred an impeachment of high treason, on Jan. 3d, 1642, against lord Kimbolton, and five members of the house of commons, Pym, Hambden, Hollis, Haslerig, and Strode, for conspiring against the king, and the parliament. Their persons were first demanded by a sergeant at arms; but the commons sent a message to the king, "that the members should be forthcoming as soon as a legal charge should be preferred against them." Next day, the king went in person to the house, attended by his guard and retinue, and claimed the accused members from the commons; but they had retired from the house before the king's arrival. He proceeded further to expose his dignity to the contempt of the city, by the same vain requisition at guildhall. He departed without receiving that applause which he expected. And, in passing through the streets, he heard the cry, *Privilege of Parliament! Privilege of Parliament!* resounding from all quarters. One of the populace, drawing near his coach, called out, *To your tents,*

a Clarendon, vol. i. p. 189.
b Laing, vol. i. p. 185.

O Israel![a] Breach of privilege resounded every where. And, the king, entirely disappointed in his design, retired from Whitehall, to which he never returned till a captive. Mr Hume says, "The whole world stood amazed at this important accusation, so suddenly entered upon, without concert, deliberation, or reflection" [b] And the severe blow, which the king levelled at those illustrious patriots, recoiled upon himself. And the oppressive policy of this arbitrary reign, terminated in a violent rupture between the king and the parliament, which was followed with a most affecting civil war. Both the aggressor, and the defender, made an appeal to the sword.

Upon the king leaving the parliament, they were obliged either to go home, and leave all affairs in the hands of the king and his party, or to act by themselves, as the guardians of the people, in this very critical time. They ventured to stand forth in their own defence, and to perform such acts of sovereignty, as were necessary to prevent the arbitrary court from trampling upon the liberties and religion of their country. Error, corruption, and confusion, generally prevailed. The faithful ministers of the gospel of Christ, were silenced, imprisoned, and banished, by the imperious bishops, and arbitrary courts above-mentioned, as may be seen in the following memoirs. And there were very different opinions, concerning the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church.

In this dismal state of affairs, the illustrious patriots of this memorable parliament resolved to call an assembly of judicious, learned, and pious, divines, for consultation, and the settlement of the affairs of the church, agreeably to the oracles of God: and that they might enjoy the benefit of the administrations of those divines, at this critical time. Accordingly, this famous assembly was not a convention agreeably to the diocesan government; nor was it called by the votes of ministers, in the presbyterian form; but by the parliament in extraordinary cir-

a Clarendon, vol. ii. B. iv. p. 356—361. Vicar's Parliamentary Chron. p. 65, 66.

b Hume's Hist. vol. vi. chap. lv. 1642.

cumstances, when extraordinary things may be done. They resolved at the commencement of their meeting to remove the grievances of the church as well as those of the state, and for this purpose to address the king to call an assembly of divines. To promote this design, the London ministers, in their petitions, in the year 1641, entreated the houses to use means with the king for a free synod. The commons, accordingly, mentioned it in their grand remonstrance, Dec. 1st, 1641. In the Oxford-treaty, a bill was presented to the same purpose, but rejected. Afterward, Dr Burgess, at the head of the puritan clergy, applied again to parliament, but they were unwilling to take this step without the king, till they were obliged to call the Scots to their aid, who insisted, that there should be an uniformity of doctrine and discipline between the two nations. To make for this, the houses turned their bill into an ordinance, and convened an assembly of learned and pious divines, by their own authority.[a]

Though these divines were illustrious for their learning, and venerable for their piety; yet they come in for their large dividend in the share of misrepresentation, and of gross calumnies. The divine maxim was particularly verified in them: "Yea, and all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution," 2 Tim. iii. 12. They suffered very much both from the tongue and from the pen of their enemies. They, indeed, were in the regions of the torrid zone of persecution *for righteousness' sake*, when they sat in the assembly at Westminster. We have a remarkable proof of this in Clarendon's history. He says, speaking of this venerable assembly, "There were not above twenty, of the one hundred and twenty members, who were not declared, and avowed enemies to the doctrine, or discipline of the church of England; some of them infamous in their lives, and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance; and of no other reputation, than of malice, to the church of England."[b] This is censure, but little

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. chap. ii.

b Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, vol. i. B. v. p. 415. fol. Ox. 1702.

short of universal. A bold assertion indeed; but without any proof. An assertion which truth keenly stares in the face, and plainly contradicts. Before this remarkable stigma of infamy had been cast on the names of those eminent divines, in the page of history, their principles, their conduct, and their motives, should have been very accurately weighed in a just balance, which certainly was not done by this historian. It is well observed, "Both the actions and the characters of men who render themselves conspicuous in very interesting periods, and during the shock and ebullition of great and singular revolutions, are weighed by cotemporary writers in balances with arms of unequal length; so that they sink down or *kick the beam*, not in exact proportion to their true merit or demerit, but as the prejudice or partiality of the historian has placed them in this or that scale." [a] And such illiberality does not become the historian. It is a very bad assistant to argument; for it disgraces a good, and cannot serve a bad, cause. And, certainly, some evidence may be justly required in support of the charges which the historian brings against this respectable body of ministers, whom he treats with the utmost severity. But, when we carefully examine what he adduces respecting this, we find nothing: and the evidence here rests solely on assertion, and on the construction which the author himself is pleased to put on the characters and conduct of these eminent servants of Jesus Christ. "It has been a good old custom with authors, who were modest enough not to be offended if their readers were not disposed to take assertion for proof, particularly when it was made in opposition to generally received opinions, to elucidate their propositions by examples, and to support them by arguments drawn from reason and authority." [b] I sincerely wish that the earl of Clarendon had strictly adhered to this very laudable custom; and had condescended clearly to state the grounds on which he rested his strong assertions, especially with reference to public and respectable characters,

a Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. xiv. p. 177.
b Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. xiv. p. 274.

to which he has often been very partial. Mr Hume says, "He is less partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: He was too honest to falsify the former, his affections were easily capable, unknown to himself, of disguising the latter." [a] In his account of the characters of the members of the Westminster Assembly, he is undoubtedly very partial, and has greatly disguised them. And the author of the critical history of England, in his treatise entitled, "Clarendon and Whitlocke compared," says, The editors of the lord Clarendon's history have hardly left one fact, or one character on the parliament side, fairly represented. "I was long hesitating on the hard *words* in the title of this treatise, scarce one *fact*, or one *character* fairly represented: and I turned the history of the Rebellion over and over again, to find out *one* that might be called *fair*, which I have not yet found on the side of the parliament." [b] If we deal honestly, we cannot give much credit to the earl of Clarendon's account of the characters of the members of that venerable assembly, according to the above representation of him, which many will account very equitable. A large and respectable body of mankind did and will acknowledge, that the members of that famous assembly, in general, eminently possessed solid learning, true candour, zeal according to knowledge, and a conversation becoming the gospel of Christ: and the opinion of such cannot reasonably be surrendered to the authority of his lordship's *ipse dixit*, whose narrative is very strongly tinctured with prejudice and partiality, and highly impregnated with party spirit. And, certainly, "to load with abrupt obloquy names which the wisest and best of men have for ages agreed to revere, is an offence, not indeed to be punished by the judges, but to be reprobated with indignation by all good men." [c] And it ought to be carefully observed, that the persecutions, which these eminent divines had the honour to suffer, were occasioned by a very close attachment to the best of all causes, that of

a Hume's Hist. Eng. vol. vii. chap. lxii. end.
b Clarendon and Whitlocke compared, title and preface.
c Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. xiv. p. 461.

truth, which makes mankind indeed free. And, as the wisdom and excellencies of Socrates, while they procured him many followers, also created him many enemies;[a] so did the piety, zeal, and faithfulness, of our reforming ancestors, when they signally distinguished themselves by their magnanimous appearance in the cause of God and of truth.

They were much extolled by some, and greatly decried by others, when most diligently employed in the most important services of the church of Christ. What Mr Sulivan observes concerning chymistry, may be fitly applied unto those eminent divines who met in the assembly at Westminster. He says, "Chymistry is an art which, perhaps of all others, has been the most extolled by its admirers, and the most condemned by its opponents."[b] And these divines, perhaps of all others, have been the most extolled by their admirers, and the most decried and condemned by their opponents.

And, there is some probability, that the earl of Clarendon may have been engaged, in writing his history, to expose our reformers, as Aristophanes was to expose Socrates. The Sophists, and other opponents of Socrates, upon finding their own reputation and emoluments daily declining, they became inveterate in their enmity against this bold reformer, and eagerly seized every opportunity of exposing him to public ridicule or censure. And they engaged Aristophanes, the first buffoon of the age, to write a comedy, entitled, "The Clouds," wherein Socrates is introduced hanging in a basket in the air, and thence pouring forth absurdity and profaneness.[c]

But be that as it may, the earl of Clarendon is certainly very partial in his account of characters; and he so holds the candle, that with it's shadow, he industriously endeavours to darken every thing that was excellent and amiable in such as appeared for the glorious work of Reformation. The author of Clarendon and

a Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy, vol. i. B. ii. chap. iv.
b Sulivan's View of Nature, vol. i. let. xiv. p. 127.
c Enfield's Hist. as above.

Whitlocke compared, says, with reference to Clarendon's account of the divines who assembled at Westminster: "If I had met with no other passage but this, to prove that the author of the history wrote unfairly, and partially, this alone would have convinced me, that there was little conscience, or care, taken in the forming of characters. One might have defied the most malicious observer, at that time, to have named only one man of public infamy, of life and conversation." And Dr Calamy says "A very heavy charge upon such a body of men as they were. Though my lord Clarendon was undoubtedly a great man, yet this censure wont recommend his history to posterity, who will be hard put to it, to find men of more exemplary piety, and more eminent ministerial abilities, than those whom he endeavours at such a rate to expose. Who can give credit to him as an historian, who shall represent such men as Dr Twisse, Mr Gataker, Bishop Reynolds, Dr Arrowsmith, Dr Tuckney, and Dr Lightfoot, as men of mean parts? Or who runs down such as Dr Gouge, Mr Oliver Bowles, Mr Vines, Mr Herle, Mr Newcomen, and Mr Coleman, as persons of no reputation, but for malice to the church?" [a]

Neither the characters of our venerable reformers, nor the precious truths of God, which they faithfully maintained, and earnestly contended for, have any thing to fear from the gross calumnies, and malicious efforts, of such enemies, who have dipped their pen in the common sewer. "Parthians might aim their arrows at the sun; wolves may exhaust their strength, by howling at the moon; yet neither the weapons of those could wound the one, nor can the clamour of these so much as alarm the other. The sun persists to shine, and the moon to roll, unextinguished and unimpeded by the impotence of rage, and the emptiness of menace from below." [b]

True and *undiguised candour* is much more amiable and commendable than accusation or censure. And,

a Clarendon and Whitlocke compared, chap. ii.
b Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. i. introduction.

what a celebrated writer justly observes, may be applied here: "If you find that he is either an unfit judge because of his ignorance, or because of his prejudices, his judgment should go for nothing." [a] And, "He whose own house is made of glass, ought not to throw stones at that of his neighbour." [b] "Calumny, though a great, is a temporary evil, but truth and justice will prove triumphant and eternal!"

The compiler of these memoirs pretends not to rank among such as are conspicuous, and have a respectable place, in the roll of the writers of biographical history: but submits himself and the work to the opinion of the public; requesting only equity in their censure, and impartiality in their judging. "The talents of a Plutarch are not implanted in every capacity. To pen the genuine anecdote, the interesting memoir, the correct annal, falls to the lot of very few." [c] The work itself is arduous, it hath been performed under consciousness of the want of abilities for it, and in the intervals of a very labourious life, of much travel and toil in a very extensive congregation, and, therefore, it must be very defective. Accordingly, blame only where ye must, be candid and shew lenity where ye can. And, considering the difficulties that attend such a work, errors, undoubtedly, may be detected in it. Such as discover them, are earnestly solicited to point them out, for future correction, as none have been allowed to pass, in the execution of the work, that could be observed. A strict regard has been paid to truth, the propriety and importance of which all must readily assent unto. And using the words of another, I earnestly wish to be set right: "and I shall be grateful to the friendly hand, which shall point out to me where I am wrong, and shall hold forth farther light, to illuminate the path in which I delight to tread." [d]

In the execution of this *voluntary and pleasing*, though arduous, task, some account is given of the birth, descent,

a Watts' Improvement of the Mind, part i. chap. v. xi.
b Voltaire's Memoirs, English, Dublin, edit. 1786. p. 62.
c Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. iv. p. 361.
d Sulivan's View of nature, vol. i. let. xxviii. end.

education, religion, manners, character, choice sayings, remarkable actions, the afflictions, and the death, of these eminent divines, who met in the famous Assembly at Westminster, as far as authentic information could be obtained. There is, indeed, a lamentable scarcity of biographical materials, relative to some of them; though no pains have been spared to procure these from every quarter where they might be supposed to be found. This deficiency, therefore, can only be regretted, without being remedied, at this distance of time, as far as my knowledge yet extends. And, though from the richness of materials, and other peculiar advantages, voluminous journals, very copious accounts of the lives and opinions of some distinguished characters, have been offered to the public; as in Doctor Parr's life of Archbishop Usher, and in Mr Boswell's life of Doctor Johnson; yet there has been a general complaint, that of many great men, of former times, we know just enough, to make us lament that we know no more.[a] Under the lamentable want of information, I have always been silent. The value of any thing is best known by the want of it. Agreeably to this, having experienced great inconveniences from the want of this information, I have learned thereby to entertain the highest sense of it's worth and importance. And when information could be obtained, nothing that is worthy of notice, or for edification, hath been withheld. A writer of the lives of famous men says, in entering upon the life of Epaminondas, the son of Polymnus, the Theban, "We seem obliged to pass by nothing that may be proper to the setting it clearly forth."[b] We also seem obliged to pass over nothing, which may be serviceable to set forth clearly the genuine character of these illustrious divines, and to preserve the honour of their memory. Very particular attention has been paid to the account of their death. A pleasant and celebrated writer says; "There is nothing in history which is so improving to the reader, as those accounts which we meet with of the deaths of emi-

a See Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. vii. for Jan. 1792.
b Cornelius Nepos, Epam. chap. i.

nent persons, and of their behaviour in that dreadful season."[a] The authorities are carefully annexed to the narrative for confirmation; and sometimes, the reader is informed where he may seek for farther intelligence, with reference to some things. Several pertinent texts of the holy scriptures are interspersed, occasional observations made, and some historical account of the times is given. Perhaps, some may think, that I have been too diffuse, with regard to the last of these. If this is the case, a supposition that some of my readers may have very little knowledge of the history of these times, is my apology. I have written for information and edification. Some lines of poetry are also inserted, in some places, where they appeared to be pertinent, and probably might be beneficial for the relaxation and animation of the reader. And, a particular account also is given of the writings of these divines, as far as they could be traced. This includes a catalogue of these, their several editions, and some partial account where they have been dispersed by divine providence, for the edification of the church and people of God. This hath been a very laborious, difficult, and expensive, part of the work. And, neither labour, nor expences, as far as circumstances would admit, have been withheld.[b] God's Abels, his departed saints, continue to speak both by the holy lives which they maintained, while *they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* and by the pious writings which they have left behind them, when their remains are laid in the dust. The hand of death could only reach their mortal part, both their reputation and their writings survive; and will continue to be regarded as their most splendid and lasting monuments. The superlative worth of the writings of these divines appears not to be sufficiently appreciated by us. We ought carefully to collect, to preserve, and to peruse, these writings. It is said concerning Lucretia Gontaga, a lady of uncommon learning, wit, and accomplishments, according to our information, That all that came from her pen was

a Spectator, vol. iv. No. 289.

b Hæc eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas? Virg. Ecl. ii. 35.

so much esteemed, that a collection was made even of the notes which she wrote to her servants, several of which are to be found in the edition of her letters, published at Venice in 1552.[a] And, what came from the pen of several of these eminently learned, very pious, and well accomplished, divines, ought to be highly esteemed by us, carefully preserved, and read with the most attentive consideration. The mind of the authors appears to have been richly impregnated with the celestial dew of the knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel of the Son of God, and with the special influences of the Spirit of all grace. The reader, accordingly, will find, in their writings, the lively vestiges of that knowledge which comes from above, and the genuine signatures of a gracious heart. They contain such rich treasures of heavenly instructions, that one who reads without prejudice, and for real edification, cannot rise from reading them without much advantage. I have correct information, that they have been truly serviceable to some, in acquiring the true knowledge of the truths of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and of reformation principles. The reputation, indeed, of many of these writings, rests more on the value of the materials, than on the elegance of the composition. But the language and the subject are clearly distinguishable; and ought always to be very carefully distinguished; for they are really distinct things in themselves. There is evidently both the beauty of language expressing thought, and likewise the beauty of the thought itself. And these distinct beauties, if we wish either to think, speak or write, correctly, must be particularly distinguished from each other. Language may be considered as the dress of the subject, or of the thought; and, undoubtedly, we can distinguish between the person and the dress. Beside, we are often conscious of the highest pleasure which language can afford, when the subject is very disagreeable: and so on the contrary. And, we frequently find subjects of great dignity, utility, and importance, dressed in very mean language.

a Universal Magazine, vol. xcii.

Theopompus's subject is said to have great force, but his style very little.[a] And style ought not to have the preference over subject. A writer of considerable respectability well observes; "Style is truly valuable and important, but in a frivolous age like the present, we are sorry to see any inclination, among serious men, to give it the preference over subject."[b] The great truths of the gospel of Christ, are usefully illustrated, and judiciously explained, in these writings: and such as prefer substantial food, served up in an homely manner, to the mere garnishings of a dish, may read them with great satisfaction. And some of them want not elegance of composition for the times.

The collecting the writings of these divines has engaged some share of my attention for several years. The place of my residence, hitherto, hath not been very favourable to pursuits of this nature; but correspondence with persons residing in public places, extensive travels, time and assiduity, have, in a considerable degree, remedied this inconvenience. A correspondent in London has been engaged in pursuit of these writings, in my behalf, for several years, in his leisure hours; by whom many of the scarcest and most valuable of them have been procured, and much information of great utility and importance received. Different journeys have been performed to that great metropolis, at the distance of between three and four hundred miles, and close search made for these writings while there, for several weeks, with great success. When in London and in other public places, book-catalogues, book-shops, and stalls in the streets, were diligently searched. Access hath been readily granted to several libraries of great respectability; and the sight and loan of some of the scarcest of these writings have been obtained with an affability and politeness that greatly augmented the favour. I am deeply indebted to several gentlemen, and to others, for the loan of books in composing this work, but as they are

a Elements of Criticism, vol. ii. chap. xviii. sect. i. 7th edit. Edin.
b Universal Magazine.

numerous, and I have not their allowance, I shall not name any of them. I have procured, used, and profited by, a great number of volumes, in composing these memoirs. Such means have been used, that the account both of the lives and of the writings, might be as full and correct as possible.

Usefulness hath been chiefly studied. This is the grand object, both in religious matters, and in philosophical researches. "The *professed* object of philosophical researches, is to discover principles which shall be subservient to the uses of man. Without this object, every inquiry is but the amusement of children." [a] The *professed* object of these memoirs, and of the researches to obtain materials for them, is, to exhibit religious principles and correspondent practices which shall be subservient to the uses of man. There is little expectation, that the accounts of these lives and writings will either be generally circulated, or universally read; but if they are means in the hand of the Lord, of exciting and of exercising the sympathetic emotion of piety, in the minds of a few well disposed readers, the labour, in composing them, will not be wholly lost. Intercourse with pious persons, histories of their religious exercises and experiences, with well authenticated accounts of their generous and disinterested actions, and frequent meditation upon them, keep the sympathetic emotion alive in the mind, and in constant exercise, which by degrees introduces a habit.[b] And this sympathetic emotion, when excited and exercised in the mind of religious persons, is highly advantageous; for it greatly encourages them to imitate the good example which they admire. And good example, having a powerful and commanding influence over the mind of the godly, will strongly operate there, piety and holiness will accordingly gain strength, and thus the church of Christ will be edified, and God's name glorified.

Religious edification being intended, it is expected that such as may be disposed to procure, or to read,

a Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. iv. appendix, p. 517.
b Elements of Criticism, vol. i. chap. ii. part i. sect. iv.

these memoirs, will read them with attentive consideration, and likewise frequently meditate upon what they read. The plan of this work hath required much labour and considerable expence, to execute it; and I should be sorry that the memories, and even the names, of these eminent divines, which are of considerable celebrity among our reformers, should sink back into oblivion as soon as the reader had turned the page. Framing one sentence, and fixing a single date, have been attended oftentimes with much labour and difficulty, by pursuing my researches in several volumes, examining the degree of credit due to the several authorities, and waiting for opportunities of receiving correct information: and, therefore, my progress was not much in the revolution of a year. As the progress of the work hath been very slow, I have endeavoured to make some little improvement, while it was going forward. Plutarch hath observed of Menander, that his later excelled his earlier productions. And, I sincerely wish, and have studied, that for the benefit of the reader, for the credit of religion, for the edification of the church, and for the glory of God, this observation may be in some measure verified in these memoirs.

The memoirs of Dr Twisse, who was the Prolocutor of the Famous Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and of his two Assessors, Dr Burgess, and Mr White, are placed first: after them, the names of the English Divines, who were members of this Assembly, are alphabetically arranged, as they stand in Mr Neal's History of the Puritans; the Scottish Commissioners are next brought forward; and the Scribes, who had no votes, are last in the list.

Having endeavoured, in compliance with the calls of Divine providence, to preach the glorious gospel of the grace of God, in several parts of Scotland, of England, of Ireland, and of America; and considering that I must have been very far deficient in discharging the duties of my office, both at home and abroad, I sincerely wish that this labour of love may partly supply my lack of service. Deficiences, in endeavouring to serve the church one way, may, probably, be partly supplied, by

being, in some degree, otherwise serviceable to her interests. That the Divine blessing may accompany this work, as far as it is conformable to the revealed will of God; and that it may be instrumental in carrying the sweet sound of the Saviour's name, which is like ointment poured forth unto those who love him, and in promoting genuine piety, and the knowledge of reformation principles, in all places of the earth where Divine providence may direct its course, is the ardent desire of the author.

JAMES REID.

MEMOIRS, &c.

THE REV. WILLIAM TWISSE, D. D.

PASTOR OF NEWBURY, A VERY LEARNED AND LABORIOUS DIVINE, AN EMINENT LIGHT OF GOD'S CHURCH, AND PROLOCUTOR OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

WILLIAM TWISSE was born at Speenham-land, near Newbury in Berkshire, England. His grand-father was a German, who, on some occasions had come over into England, and made way, under the providence of God, for his grand-son being left a very choice blessing to that kingdom. His father was a substantial clothier, and educated him at Winchester school, from whence, at eighteen years of age, he was translated to New-College in Oxford, of which he was a fellow. Here he made the closest application to his studies, for sixteen years together; and acquired an extensive and very deep and accurate knowledge of logic, philosophy, and divinity. He adorned the learning of the schools by his literary knowledge. He proceeded Master of Arts in the year 1604; and about the same time he entered into holy orders, and became a diligent and frequent preacher of the everlasting gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. He was esteemed a popular preacher in the University; and though some judged that his discourses were a little too scholastic, yet they were accompanied with power, and followed with success. He was admired and distinguished among his co-temporaries in the University, on account of his closeness of application to his studies, the vivacity and subtility of his wit, his exact judgment, his holy exemplary life and conversation,

and all other valuable qualities which became a man of his profession. And having such advantages, his mind was soon enriched with whatever is valuable, entertaining, or exquisite, in literature.

He proceeded Doctor of Divinity, with general applause, in the year 1614, after having given abundant proof both of his learning and industry, in his catechetical lectures in the college chapel, and in his disputations, as well as in transcribing and judiciously correcting the writings of the famous Dr Thomas Bradwardine, archbishop of Canterbury, which were to be published by Sir Henry Saville.

He was called upon at this time to preach a sermon on a day appointed for baptizing a Jew, one Joseph Barnet, who taught many of the students Hebrew in Oxford then, and deceived many of the University Doctors, especially Dr Lake, provost of New-College, by pretending that he was converted to christianity; but the day before he was to have been baptized, having filled his purse, he ran away. However, being pursued, he was brought back; and Dr Twisse, the next day, laid aside the sermon he had studied, upon a supposition that the Jew was to be baptized, and preached a most excellent and remarkable sermon upon his revolt, wherein he shewed God's just judgment upon that rebellious backsliding nation and people, whom he had given up to a reprobate mind, even to this very day. He acquitted himself on this remarkable occasion in such a learned and masterly manner, that he was applauded and admired by the whole University. As Datames, a very brave and great man, following the business of a soldier, first discovered what he was, in the war with king Artaxerxes carried on against the Cadusians:[a] so Dr Twisse first discovered what he was eminently as a divine and scholar, on this occasion. The short time which he had to study his discourse, and the manner in which he handled it, caused him to be much admired. His celebrated lectures every Thursday, in the parish church of St

a Cornelius Nepos, Dat. i.

Olaves, were so much frequented by the gownsmen, and the inhabitants of the town, that his fame reached the court: and when he lay hid in his academic cell, king James I. made choice of him to be chaplain to his daughter Elizabeth, the princess Palatine, and to accompany her into Germany. Previous to his entering upon his travels into Germany, he very prudently disposed of his patrimony, which was about thirty pounds yearly, and commended it to his brother, requiring him, that out of the rents of it, he should raise portions for his sisters. "A good man sheweth favour, and lendeth: he will guide his affairs with discretion," Psal. cxii. 5.

And when he set out with the princess, to render the journey both profitable and pleasant, he expounded parts of the holy scriptures daily. Every one is delighted with some peculiar pleasure.[a] And they who are born again of water and of the Spirit, John iii. 5. are delighted with the word of God, as their peculiar pleasure. "As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby," 1 Pet. ii. 2. And as his judicious expositions and observations served to render the way less tedious:[b] so they were also means, along with his many wise and seasonable admonitions, to moderate the grief of the princess, on leaving her dear country. He taught her from the word of God, "that here we have no abiding city;" but ought to "seek a better in the world to come." She was also hereby prepared, under the blessing of God, to encounter all those afflictive dispensations of Divine providence, with which she was afterward visited and tried: for soon after she was crowned queen of Bohemia, she was forced to fly from that country, when pregnant, and excluded from the Palatinate, the paternal inheritance of her husband, and driven to live in exile the remaining part of her days. Then she firmly believed, and sweetly experienced, what the Doctor had very often inculcated, That God's gracious providence doth order all the estates and conditions of all mankind, whether

a Trahit sua quemque voluptas. Virg. Ecl. ii. 65.
b Vide Virg. Ecl. ix. 64.

prosperous or adverse, according to his own good pleasure, and for the everlasting good of those who belong to him, agreeable to that promise, Rom. viii. 28. "And we know that all things work together for good to them who love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose." Thus the princess was both forewarned and forearmed by him. It was probably on account of his eminent service this way, to the queen, that prince Rupert, one of her sons, in the time of the civil war in England, coming to Newbury, where the Doctor was minister, behaved with the greatest courtesy and familiarity to him; making him the largest promises, if he would be of the court party, write in their defence, and live among them. But the Doctor had not so learned Christ, and therefore could not comply with these measures. He had not been quite two months at the court of the elector Palatine, before he was recalled to England, to the great grief of the queen, and also of her husband. They both lamented the loss of such a jewel. The prince shewed his great concern at the Doctor's departure, in a Latin speech which he made to him. The most sanguine projects of life are often wonderfully diverted from their purposed course, by the invisible hand of over-ruling Providence.

Upon his return to England, his native country, he closely and wholly applied himself for the glory of God, and for the good of his church. And, in a country village, and mean house, by very close study, he laid the foundation of those rare and elaborate works, which have been the admiration of all the reformed churches both at home and abroad. Afterward, he was made vicar of Newbury, a mayor and market-town in Berkshire, fifty-six miles distant from London, acccording to Entick.[a] Here he gained

a Newbury is somewhat remarkable for eminent persons. Here flourished John Winscomb, or Jack of Newbury, one of the greatest clothiers in England, who, in the reign of king Henry VIII. maintained 100 of his own men in the expedition to Flodden-field. It is also the birth-place of Mr Kenrick, a merchant of London, who left very considerable sums for encouraging the cloathing trade in this town and in Reading. And Mr Benjamin Woodbridge, who suc-

vast reputation both by his useful preaching, and his exemplary life. And Divine providence so ordered, that where he had first seen the natural light, and drawn his first breath, he should be *a burning and shining light*, in a spiritual sense, to guide and direct, as a bright star in Christ's right hand. the inhabitants of that place in the way to heavenly glory. Here he passed the remaining part of his time in this world, with much satisfaction, learning in whatever state he was to be content, to the great comfort, profit, and edification of the people.

The disposition of his mind was such, that he neither sought the riches of this world, nor yet ecclesiastical dignities and preferments; but modestly rejected them, when they were offered him. He often congratulated himself on his low retired condition, and accounted himself much indebted to the Lord his God, because he had graciously placed him in a mean condition, as being liable to fewer temptations snd dangers than in the episcopal dignity he might have been exposed to. Like Luther, who is said to have had this passage in his last will and testament:—"Lord God, I thank thee, because that thou hast been pleased to make me a poor and indigent man upon earth. I have neither house, nor land, nor money, to leave behind me."[a] When God raiseth us high by his providence, we are in danger of lifting up ourselves by pride, even against him:—saying to the gold or preferment, "Thou art my hope;" and to the fine gold, or high preferment, "Thou art my confidence." And there is a secret malignity in this world's riches, and in preferments, when they meet with the corruptions of our hearts, to lift us up in pride, and withdraw our hearts from the "living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy," 1 Tim. vi. 17. And we may suppose that Doctor Twisse felt this in his own experience: for he was particularly acquainted with the gross corruption of the human heart. He declined being Warden of the College at Winchester, after he was chos-

ceeded Dr Twisse at Newbury, was a very great and eminent man every way.

a Melch. Adam. Vit. German. Theol.

en, and earnestly requested to accept it, though it was a very lucrative place. It is said to have been equal to the greatest ecclesiastic preferment for profit. He requested the offerers to bestow it upon some more worthy person. And hereby he shewed, says Clark, "that he rather desired to attend his studies in private, than to wax old and live idle in a more honourable place." A place of solitude better suited his studious disposition, than a place of honour and preferment. He afterward refused a Prebend at Winchester, when offered him; returning thanks to Dr Moore, his father-in-law, who was prebendary of Winchester, and other friends, but intreating them to give him leave to abide at Newbury to attend the flock over which God had placed him; saying, "he thought himself unfit for a cathedral employment: it was hard for him, among such eminent men as the prebendaries of Winchester, either to sing musically enough, or to preach rhetorically enough." Robert, earl of Warwick, also offered him a Rectory; which, because it was a smaller parish than Newbury, and old age was creeping in upon him, and his bodily strength failing, he thankfully accepted, provided that the earl would take special care to send a pious faithful pastor to Newbury. The Doctor waited upon the archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had been well acquainted while they were students together at Oxford, concerning this business. The archbishop entertained him courteously, and promised to grant his request; adding, that he would represent him to the king for a pious and learned man, and no puritan. But the Doctor was quick enough to perceive, from such treatment and language, that snares were laid for him. Accordingly, he returned to Newbury, and thought no more of leaving it. Thus we see, that this very eminent man did shrink from the dignities and preferments in the church of England. Like Quintus Sextius, a Pythagorean philosopher, who flourished in the time of Augustus, he seemed formed to rise in the republic; but he shrunk from civil honours, and declined accepting of the rank of Senator when it was offered him by Julius Cæsar, that

he might have time to make application unto philosophy.[a] And as Agesilaus, the valiant Lacedemonian prince, preferred a good name to the most wealthy kingdom, and esteemed it far more glorious to obey the laws of his conntry, than to conquer Asia by war:[b] so Twisse preferred the glory and honour of his royal Master to all episcopal preferments; and accounted obedience to the laws of Christ's house far more glorious, than to move in the highest sphere under the noisy applause of men. He came to be so well known in the learned world, and in the church of Christ abroad, by his elaborate and celebrated Latin work, in answer to the much famed book of Arminius against Perkins, that the States of Friesland sent him a pressing invitation to accept the place of Divinity professor, in the University of Francker. This is the highest preferment that a minister of the gospel was capable of in that country. And the States took order to clear the expences of his transportation; but he refused this invitation also. "And how often," says an eminent divine, "do goats clamber up the mountains of preferments, while the poor sheep of Christ feed below?" [c]

Dr Twisse refused to read the king's proclamation, commonly called the book of sports, wherein the people were allowed to use certain sports on the Lord's day; and which was commanded to be read in all churches, on pain of suspension both from office and benefice: yea, he declared against it. Other faithful godly ministers did the same, for which that severe penalty was inflicted upon them. But when king James was informed of Dr Twisse's refusal, he secretly commanded the bishops not to meddle with him. The king knew well, that though Dr Twisse had only a small estate, and lived meanly at home, yet his fame was great in all the reformed churches; and that nothing could be done hardly against him, but it would redound greatly to the disgrace of those who did it.

a Encyclop. Britan. under Sextius, vol. xvii. part i. Edin.
b C. Nep. Agesil. iv.
c Arrowsmith.

This eminent champion for the cause of Christ, now appeared to plead the cause, as it was in the hands of the puritans, wherein he and they laboured as for life, to use his own expression. He faithfully admonished the people under his pastoral care, to beware of the profanation of the sabbath, by sports, pastimes, May-games, dancings, and following carnal worldly pleasures: and he farther enjoined them to remember the sabbath day to keep it holy. And there was a loud call for the continuation of his faithful testimony, with that of others, against the awful profanation of the Lord's day, by that most irreligious and detestable of all proclamations that ever stained the historic page—the blasphemous book of sports. For king Charles I. renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on the sabbath day, to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation, for that purpose, to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. And, the puritans refusing obedience to this disgraceful command, were therefore punished with suspension or deprivation.[a] Dr Twisse still continued to set the trumpet to his mouth, to shew the *people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins*, Isa. lviii. 1. And he spared neither king nor parliament, but engaged them with their own weapons set against them: like David, when he cut off the head of Goliah the giant, with his own sword, 1 Sam. xvii. 50, 51. He, with great ingenuity, turned the act of their own parliament, concerning the sabbath, against themselves. He managed this with great propriety and energy, displaying his usual forcible and animated reasoning on the subject.[b] He also appeared against the publications of these times, in support of sabbath profanation, as the translator of Dr Prideaux's lectures, and others, who came on the field in course, concerning the doctrine of the sabbath. And such faithful testimony-bearing, against this very glaring evil, was *not in vain in the Lord:* it had its good fruit; its salutary effect in

a Hume's Hist. of England, chap. liii. 1633.
b See his Morality of the Sabbath, p. 5. &c.

due time. For when the parliament went on vigorously with their intended reformation, in the year 1643, they applied themselves to that of the sabbath also. And on May 5th, this year, the book tolerating sports on the Lord's day was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman in Cheapside, London, and other usual places, which was done the 11th of May 1643; and all persons having copies thereof, were requested to deliver them up to one of the sheriffs of London to be burned.[a] By this instance, we may see, that in due time, the faithful followers of the Lamb shall overcome all opposition by his blood, and by the word of their testimony, Rev. xii. 11. And so long as the evil continues, our testimony against it ought to be displayed. As one of the ancients, when asked how long he would continue to preach against profane swearing, replied, "Until the people cease from swearing profanely."[b] So Dr Twisse continued to testify against the book of sports, until it was abolished. He ever sacrificed his own ease to considerations of public utility in the cause of Christ. And it was probably on account of his spirited appearances against the corruptions and evils of these times, that Dr Prideaux once said, "that the bishops did little consult their own credit because they had not preferred Dr Twisse, though against his will, to some splendid ecclesiastical dignity." He thought, no doubt, that this would have been an effectual mean to stop his mouth from speaking against them, and the sins of the times. Hence it appears, that Dr Twisse was an eminent champion for the grace of God, the morality and sanctification of the sabbath, and that puritan divinity, which the honours of the good old way belong unto.

He was esteemed an able disputant. Dr Baillie, who had considerable opportunity of knowing what his talents were this way, says, in one of his letters addressed to the presbytery of Irvine, dated London, February 28th, 1641, "Dr Twisse, to our great comfort, is here turn-

a Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. chap. i.
b Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 382.

ed a remonstrant. Dr Twisse, if there be any dispute, offers to be one. He is doubtless the most able disputer in England." [a]

He generally wished to decline a verbal conference with regard to matters of disputation. And, for this, he gives the following reasons:—Because, these things may be done more quietly by writing; the managers of the controversy will then be kept free from foreign discourse; the arguments on each side may be more properly and deliberately weighed; answers returned with due consideration; and the holy things of God may be more decently handled.[b]

At the commencement of the civil war, in the arbitrary reign of Charles I. he was forced to leave Newbury by the cavaliers, or king's soldiers and their party. The king's party spared none who were upon the side of the parliament. And then the Doctor suffered persecution for righteousness' sake.

And upon calling together the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in the year 1643, he was chosen and appointed by both Houses of Parliament, to be their Prolocutor, in which place he continued until his death. This place he often refused, with his usual modesty and humility. But "he who humbleth himself shall be exalted." Accordingly, he was unanimously chosen to the chair, and filled it, though much against his will. This Assembly of Divines first met at King Henry VII's Chapel, in Westminster-abbey, on Saturday the 1st July 1643. At their first assembling, Dr Twisse, their Prolocutor, preached a sermon unto them, at which the members of both Houses of Parliament were also present. This Assembly was prohibited by the king's proclamation of June 22; and he declared, that no acts done by them ought to be received by his subjects: he also threatened to proceed against them with the utmost severity of the law; which Dr Twisse lamented, in his sermon at the

a Baillie's Letters, let. xxvi. vol. i. when speaking concerning the petition of the English and Scotch against episcopacy.

b See his Riches of God's Love, B. ii. p. 21.

opening of the Assembly, but hoped that in due time his majesty's consent might be obtained. Notwithstanding sixty-nine ministers assembled the first day, who were called to meet there; and after sermon the ordinance of parliament was read, declaring the cause and intention of their convention, viz. the settlement of religion and church government. And then the roll, containing the names of the ministers appointed, was called over, and the names of those who were absent marked. About one hundred and twenty were nominated and appointed. They did not appear there in canonical habits, but chiefly in black coats and bands, in imitation of the foreign protestants.[a] Several of the ablest divines of that age will be found in the list of those who were members of that Assembly. They were both pious and learned; though, perhaps, none have suffered more in their characters and reputations, since the commencement of the christian æra. This Assembly was not a convention according to the Diocesan government; nor was it called by the votes of ministers, in the Presbyterian form; but by the Parliament in extraordinary circumstances, for advice in church affairs. Many of the most learned Episcopal divines were nominated, along with the Presbyterians and Independents; and Archbishop Usher, Bishops Westford, Prideaux, and Brownrigg, Doctors Holdsworth, Hammond, Sanderson, and others;—but they refused, because the king had declared against it. None could enter to hear or see this Assembly without a written order from both Houses of Parliament. They met every work-day, except Saturday, which was allowed the divines to prepare for preaching on the sabbath. Their session was generally from nine o'clock in the morning until two or three afternoon; which the Prolocutor began and ended with prayer. About sixty of the English divines were generally present. These were divided into three committees; and no man was excluded who pleased to come into any of the three. Every committee took a portion of the work prescribed,

[a] Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 352. Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. chap. ii.

and in their afternoon meeting prepared matters for the Assembly, writing their sentiments in distinct propositions, supported by sacred texts. After prayer, the Scribe read the proposition and text, whereupon the Assembly debated in a very grave, learned, ready and accurate manner. "I do marvel," says Mr Baillie, one of the Scotch Commissioners to that Assembly, "at the very accurate and extemporary replies that many of them usually make. They harangue long and very learnedly. They study the question well beforehand, and prepare their speeches; but withal the men are exceeding prompt, and well spoken." [a] None were called up to speak, but all rose of their own accord, and spoke as long as they pleased without interruption. All speeches were addressed to the Prolocutor. And when they had spoken whatever they pleased upon every proposition and text, and the replies and duplies were heard, the most part called to the question. Upon this the Scribe rose from the table, and went to the Prolocutor's chair, who read the proposition from the Scribe's book, and said, "So many as are of opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say *aye*." When the ayes were heard, the Prolocutor desired those who thought otherwise, to say *no*. When the ayes and noes could be readily known, then the question was ordered by the Scribes, and they went on to debate. If the ayes and noes were nearly equal, the Prolocutor called upon them separately to stand up, and they were numbered by the Scribes and others. When the weather became cold, the Assembly went to the Jerusalem Chamber, a fair room in Westminster-abbey. At the upper end of it there was a chair set on a frame, about one foot above the floor, for Dr Twisse, the Prolocutor. Before it, on the ground, stood two chairs for the Assessors, Dr Burgess and Mr White. Before these two chairs stood a table, where the two Scribes did sit, Mr Byfield and Mr Roborough. The Scotch Commissioners sat on the Prolocutor's right hand. All warrants from the Parliament to sit in this Assembly were presented to

a Baillie's Letters, let. xxxix. vol. i.

the Prolocutor. He welcomed the Scotch Commissioners into the Assembly at their arrival, by a long speech. Mr Baillie, speaking concerning him, as Prolocutor of this Assembly, says, "The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and very good, and beloved of all, and highly esteemed."[a] And Dr Calamy says, "That he was very famous on account of his wit, learning, and writings." It hath been said that he spake little in this Assembly. And some have interpreted this as an argument either of his weakness, or at least of the decline of his intellectual powers at that time. But as Sophocles, when his sons charged him with dotage, is said to have recited a tragedy of Oedipus Coloneus, which he had last written, and had in his hands; and to have asked, whether that seemed to be the verse of a dotard.[b] So Dr Twisse could easily have silenced such bold censurers, by the exhibition of those vigorous masculine pieces, which he penned in the different periods of his life. But his disposition to decline verbal conference in matters of disputation, (for reasons already mentioned,) his modesty and humility, with the place which he occupied in this Assembly, may sufficiently account for his speaking little there. Beside, Dr Baillie informs us, that four parts of five did not speak at all; and that among these were many of the ablest divines, and known by their writings and sermons to be much abler than several of the speakers. That silence was no reproach in that Assembly, and did not hinder the work.[c] And some very eminent men, who could speak well, have, notwithstanding, been great lovers of silence, and seldom spoke, except when they reckoned that this was absolutely necessary. It is said, concerning Dr Bradley, one of the greatest English Astronomers of the age wherein he lived, "That he spoke well, and expressed his ideas with great precision and perspicuity; notwithstanding which he was a great lover of silence:—and it has been observed of him, that he seldom spoke,

a Baillie's Letters, let. xxxix. vol. i.
b Cicero, De Senectute.
c Baillie's Letters, let. clxxi. vol. ii.

except when he conceived it absolutely necessary.[a] May we not suppose, that this was the case with Dr Twisse? And that he was like the celebrated Epaminondas, concerning whom Cornelius Nepos says, "He was desirous of hearing others discourse; for by this he thought one might learn in the easiest manner."[b] And, like the Spectator, he hath sufficiently atoned for his speaking little in this Assembly, by writing himself out before he died, in vindication of the cause of God and truth.[c] Beside what he had printed, he left about thirty pieces completed behind him, according to Mr Clark. And therefore, as Sophocles, who composed tragedies in his very old age, was honourably acquitted from the base charge brought against him by his sons, when they appeared before upright and reasonable judges: so will Dr Twisse, in like manner, be acquitted from the charge of speaking little in this Assembly. But supposing that Dr Twisse did not shine equally in extemporary speech or conversation, as in writing, he might very well say with the celebrated Addison, in the famous anecdote, distinguishing between his powers in conversation and in writing, "I have only nine-pence in my pocket; but I can draw for a thousand pounds."

He was eminently distinguished as a writer; as will appear by the testimonies of many learned men, brought forward at the end of this narrative. And as these are sufficient to ascertain his true character, as a writer, and discover the nature of his writings in a general way, we shall say little more concerning this. I shall here favour the reader with an anonymous remark, in manuscript, on this subject, which I received from London, in a book of Dr Twisse's. "The whole scope, and intent of Dr Twisse's writings, is, to set forth the absolute sovereignty and Lordship of God, over all created beings, both angels and men: and to shew, that no man in *nature's state*, with all his acquired abilities, can possibly put forth one act pleasing to God." He often affords consi-

a Universal Magazine for March 1791, vol. lxxxviii. London.
b Nep. Epam. 3.
c Spectator, No. i.

derable entertainment to his reader, by the vivacity of his genius, and the sharpness and elegance of his wit. He sometimes uses jocose or historical diversions, to animate the spirits of his readers, and to preserve them from weariness. Many of his excellent writings are in Latin. One reason of this is, that the Latin language was then more generally a medium of communication and intercourse in divinity, literature, and science, than it is now. Dr Fuller says, "His Latin works give great evidence of his abilities in controversial matters." [a] God seems to have raised him up in his holy and wise providence, at this time, and placed him eminently, with the pen in his hand, against all the adversaries of his grace and truth, like another Bradwardine [b]

His epistolary correspondence seems to have been considerable: and also the sphere of his literary acquaintance. —He had an epistolary correspondence with Mr Joseph Mede, sometime Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, whom he calls his "worthy friend," in his *Morality of the Fourth Commandment*, page 58.

The contentions in church and state broke his heart. He often wished heartily, that the fire of contention might be quenched, though it were with his own blood. "My soul hath long dwelt with him who hateth peace, I am for peace; but when I speak, they are for war." Psal. cxx. 6, 7. He was much grieved and displeased to see liberty given to heresies and blasphemies.—He lived under an abiding sense of the gross corruption and total depravity of his nature, which often filled him with astonishment:—a scripture-mark of a regenerate soul. See Psal. xxxviii. 4. and li. 5. Rom. vii. 23, 24. And he was much employed in the confession of his sins: "I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord," Psal. xxxii. 5. See Psal. li. 3, 4. and Dan. ix. 4. He frequently offered up unfeigned thanks

a Fuller's Worthies of England.

b See Rivet's Latin Preface, to Dr Twisse's Animadversions on Arminius and Corvinus.

to God, who, of his mere grace and love, had kept him from such honours as might have exposed him to temptations and snares. Abounding in the grace of humility, he was still admiring the gifts and graces of God in others, and highly esteeming and commending them, though they were far inferior to his own. He greatly respected and reverenced all good men, and thought only meanly of himself: remembering what is said, Rom. xii. 10. "Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another." He constantly kept a monthly fast in his own family, whereby he endeavoured to quicken his prayers, by which, with great importunity, he sought God in the behalf of his afflicted church, pleading that he would be gracious unto it, and restore it to peace in his own due time. He was particularly mindful of the church of Christ, in his family fasts and prayers. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth: If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." Psal. cxxxvii. 5. 6. He applied himself daily to the throne of grace by prayer, with great zeal and fervour of spirit, "That he might obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need." Heb. iv. 16. And, always before dinner and supper, he read a portion of the holy scriptures, expounding the more obscure and difficult passages, for the edification of his family. And out of them he gathered arguments, by which he might the more abase himself and his, and with the greater importunity wrestle with God, for the obtaining such blessings and favours as he craved from him. It was a custom, in these times, to read a portion of the holy scriptures at meals, that their souls might be refreshed along with their bodies; that they might see themselves in the glass of the divine law; become better acquainted with the word of God, as their comfort in affliction; and learn to understand the way of his precepts, so as to keep them diligently, and talk of all his wondrous works, Psal. cxix. 4—27—49, 50. As is said concerning Pomponius Atticus, the famous Roman Knight, who lived

long at Athens, "He had so learned the precepts of the greatest philosophers, that he made use of them for the conduct of his life, and not for ostentation.[a] And Cornelius Nepos also informs us, concerning Atticus, "That none ever heard any other entertainment for the ears at his meals, than a reader; which we think indeed very pleasant: nor was there ever a supper at his house without some reading, that his guests might be entertained not less in their minds than in their stomachs; for he invited those whose manners were not different from his own."[b] It appears from this passage, that men of learning and taste have had some to read history, or other books, for diverting or instructing their guests at table; and that occasion might hereby be given to some useful or learned discourse. And if so, it certainly becomes christians to read the word of God at their meals, for such noble purposes as Dr Twisse did.

In this eminent character, piety and learning are united: a beautiful constellation, when they meet in the same person. "Learning in religious hearts, like the gold in the ear-rings of the Israelites, is a most precious ornament," says an eminent divine.[c] Piety crowns learning. Dr Twisse's singular ministerial abilities, and his very elaborate useful writings, with his truly amiable and excellent character, rendered him universally respected during his life, and hold him up now when he is dead, as a noble example to christians in general, and to the ministers of Christ in particular. One principal part of the office of a christian minister is, to appear in the defence of evangelical truth. There is a particular necessity for the diligent discharge of this duty in the present time, when both heresy and infidelity abound, and make rapid progress. And it is much to be wished that we were disposed to follow such a laudable example. For, like Constantius, the Roman emperor, he was both amiable and venerable to his flock and acquaintances.[d] But

a Nep. Attic. chap. xvii.
b Nep. Attic. chap. xiv.
c Arrowsmith's Principles, Applic. i. Exer. i.
d Eutrop. chap. x. 1.

as it hath always been the case since the beginning, that *he who was born after the flesh persecuted him who was born after the Spirit, even so it was now:* for this very eminent champion in the cause of God and truth, was designed to ruin by the Canterburian faction—as Mr Henry Jeanes says he found in a manuscript under his own hand.[a]—The chief occasion of this probably was, because his pen was found to be a very heavy hammer in breaking to pieces the modern Pelagian heresy, while he made truth eminently his buckler. For "all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution," 2 Tim. iii. 12. And persecutors have often attempted to destroy by violence, the man whom they could not vanquish by argument.

He was of an easy disposition, and too prone to be deceived by those whom he judged to be godly. He was a Supralapsarian: considering man not fallen, nor yet created, as the object of predestination. Accordingly, in his writings, he goes into the Supralapsarian way of explaining the doctrine of election and of reprobation. And yet he says, "That he reckons that controversy, relative to the order of God's decrees, to be merely *apex logicus* —a logical nicety," as he calls it, in his riches of God's love, part ii. page 50.

Dr Twisse maintained, as several eminently orthodox divines have done, "That God, by his absolute power, setting aside his decree or free constitution, can forgive sin without any satisfaction." He hath a whole digression against Piscator and Lubbertus, on this subject.[b] And Calvin expressly says, on John xv. 13. That God might, by a word only, or by his command, have redeemed us; but he took this way through his Son, that his love might be made more manifest. And Norton, in his Orthodox Evangelist, chap. iii. says, "God, by his absolute power, could have saved man without a Mediator: he is omnipotent, and could have done what he

a Address to Michael Oldisworth, Esq. prefixed to Dr Twisse's Riches of God's Love.

b Vindic. Grat. l. 1. de elect. digres. 8.

pleased." And Mr Rutherford, Christ dying and drawing sinners to himself, pages 7, 8, says, "If we speak of God's absolute power, without respect to his free decree, he could have pardoned sin without a ransom, and gifted all mankind and fallen angels with heaven, without any satisfaction of either the sinner or his Surety; for he neither punisheth sin, nor tenders heaven to men or angels by necessity of nature—as the fire casteth out heat, and the sun light—but freely." But it appears to me both vain and dangerous to dispute what God can do by his absolute power, especially in the case before us, when he has most solemnly and plainly declared, in the strongest terms, that he *will by no means clear the guilty*, Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. That is, He will not suffer guilty persons to go unpunished, without a satisfaction. See Numb. xiv. 18. Jer. xxx. 11. Nah. i. 3. Sin is directly contrary to the perfection of God; and, therefore, it cannot go unpunished. It's impunity is incompatible both with the divine nature and government. *And without shedding of blood is no remission.*

Dr Owen opposes Dr Twisse, concerning this point, in his Dissertation on Divine Justice; where he speaks very honourably and respectfully of him as his most learned antagonist. He says, chap. xii. sect 4. "But here, first, of all the antagonists, and who indeed is almost equal to them all, *the very learned Twisse* opposes himself to us." And while Dr Owen, in this controversy with Dr Twisse, follows "this veteran leader, so well trained to the scholastic field;"—as he styles him, he constantly calls him, "This great man; our learned antagonist; the learned Twisse; our justly celebrated antagonist; this renowned man; the very illustrious, and the accurate Twisse." The most grave and judicious divines, as Rivet, Burgess, Rutherford, and others, have also honoured his name with similar distinguishing epithets.

He was allowed to be an excellent casuist. But notwithstanding all his accomplishments, Mr Neal says, that he died in very necessitous circumstances, having lost all that he had by the king's soldiers, insomuch,

that when some of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster were deputed to visit him in his sickness, they reported "that he was very sick, and in great straits." And, Mr Jeanes, in his preface to his Riches of God's Love, complains of his having been shamefully neglected; where he declares against the unnatural vanity of England, in preferring strangers above such of their own countrymen, as far surpassed them. And, he adds, of this unjust partiality, no profession hath tasted more than that of divinity; for of our ministers, such whom God hath best fitted with parts and learning for discussing controversies, have been so undervalued in comparison of some foreign divines, whose learning was little better than systematic, as that they have languished in their private studies, and had died in obscurity, unless the fame of their great abilities had been echoed over to us by the general applause of all christendom.[a] But like Cornelius Nepos, we must measure great men by their eminent qualities, and not by their condition and circumstances in this world.[b]

The great contentions and warm debates in the Assembly of Divines, much disturbed his thoughts; and his disturbed thoughts greatly impaired his bodily health; and his health being impaired, while his private studies and public employments were not abated, he was much reduced. Accordingly, when he spake unto God in the name of the people, and to the people in the name of God, and raised up the hearts of his hearers unto heaven, he fell down in the pulpit. Though his constitution was naturally good, and his disposition cheerful; yet, through age, his body was now become heavy and somewhat burthensome: and therefore, when very warmly employed in spiritual things, his outward strength failed him.—He was carried home, and laid upon his bed, and continued about a year under a lingering indisposition. During this time, he was visited by persons of all ranks, who loved either religion or learning. And, to

a Address to Oldisworth, as above.
b Nep. Eum. chap. i.

his friends who visited him, on the day of his distress, he gave remarkable and very comfortable evidences of his faith, Heb. xi. 13. And, under his affliction, he was a rare example of patience and christian resignation. "Knowing this, that the trying of your faith worketh patience," James i. 3. See Heb. x. 36. And the patience of the saints, which is the peculiar gift of God, and an eminent fruit of the Spirit, is very profitable to them at all times, and especially in trouble and at death, when it *hath its perfect work*, and faith is changed into the beatific vision of God.

"Unaw'd by threats, unmov'd by force,
My steady soul pursues her course,
Collected, calm, resign'd;
Say ye, who search with curious eyes,
The source whence human actions rise,
Say whence this turn of mind?

'Tis *Patience*, heav'n-descended maid!
Implor'd, flew swiftly to my aid,
And lent her fost'ring breast;
Watch'd my sad hours with parent care,
Repell'd th' approaches of despair,
And sooth'd my soul to rest.[a]

When the time of his departure was at hand, he seriously uttered these following words, which were almost his last:—"Now, at length, I shall have leisure to follow my studies to all eternity." He died about the 20th July, 1646, in the seventy-first year of his age. His body was buried with great honour and solemnity, according to his dignity, and former friendship with his brethren, at the request of the Assembly, in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, near the upper end of the poor folk's table, next the vestry, on the 24th of July, and was attended by the whole Assembly of Divines in a body. There his body rested till the restora-

[a] Scots Chronicle, Dec. 13, 1799.

tion of king Charles II. when his bones were dug up by an order of council, on the 14th September, 1661, and thrown, with the bones of several others, into a hole in the church yard of Margaret's, before the back door of the lodgings of one of the Prebendaries. Such is the rage of the church's enemies, that when they have no more that they can do, they will even disturb the bones of Christ's members in their graves.

The day after his burial, the parliament voted a thousand pounds to be given to his children, out of the public treasury; but they were cheated out of that, and whatever their father left. Notwithstanding, God was so pleased to appear for them, in his kind providence, that they obtained a decent support.—"Thou art the helper of the fatherless," Psal. x. 14. And in the Lord, the fatherless findeth mercy, Hosea. xiv. 3. "Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me," Jer. xlix. 11.

He was eminently distinguished by his bold, determined, successful opposition to the enemies of God's sovereignty and grace both Arminians and Jesuits. He was an active, unwearied, mighty, and victorious champion in these controversies. And the keen opposition of his antagonists was so far from staggering his faith, that it confirmed his mind the more in the belief of the truth; as the forest oaks are said to be better established in their roots, by stormy winds and beating tempests. He made uncommon exertions in combating the errors of these times, and embraced all opportunities for that purpose; and his abilities always encreased with his work. He was ever glad to meet with the greatest difficulties from his adversaries: the harder the task which they prescribed to him, the better it pleased him. "A great spirited man will overcome not only great difficulties, but seeming impossibilities; yea, he is glad to meet with the greatest difficulties, because they match the greatness of his mind;" says an eminent divine.[a] He observed the movements of Arminian errors with peculiar care; and used the most vigorous

a Caryl on Job, chap. xxxiii. 12.

efforts to stop their progress. His attention was every where in this cause, as is said with regard to bishop Secker. He was the Bradwardine of the age; and he may well be ranked among those eminent characters, who have most successfully contributed their unwearied exertions for the vindication of the truth as it is in Jesus. He was particularly celebrated for his very able defence of the writings of the excellent Mr Perkins, against the Arminians. He hath given abundant proof, in this very accurate and most elaborate defence, that Arminius's much spoken of book was not unanswerable. And he hath displayed, in this remarkable work, such industry, perseverance, and erudition, as are only equalled by the exquisite judgment, and forcible animated reasoning, which he hath therein discovered. This great undertaking appears sufficient to have occupied half the life of an ordinary writer. Here he carefully examines the contents of Arminius's book, with the eagle-eye of a philosopher and sacred critic; and he leaves not the minutest article undiscussed.[a]

But to substantiate more particularly this part of the narrative, we shall here subjoin the joint suffrages of several eminent divines, of different denominations, both at home and abroad, to this purpose.

The learned and judicious Rivet, in his Latin preface to Dr Twisse's Animadversions, above referred to, says, when speaking concerning him:—"Respecting the author, his method, scholastic form of disputation, sharpness, and accuracy, I leave to the judgment of the readers. The most learned men in the whole christian world, even those who are of the opposite party, confess, that there was nothing hitherto published more accurate, nothing more finished and full, touching this controversy, than what was written by Dr Twisse. And this ought to please all the godly at least, that always every where he hath been earnest in a good cause; and hath so vindicated it, if any one ever did, from absurd objections, and the calumnies of the adversaries, that out of his labours, not

a See Rivet's Latin Preface, formerly referred to.

only the learned, but also those who are less exercised in controversies, may find enough to enable them to extricate themselves from the snares of their opponents." And that eminent English divine, Dr Owen, says, in his epistle prefixed to Dr Twisse's "Riches of God's Love," "It is well known what sphere this learned author moved in; how far elevated above any possibility of my reaching the least esteem to him or his labours: this I shall take the boldness to say, that this treatise of our author, comes not any whit behind the choicest of those other eminent works of his; wherein, in this cause of God, he faithfully served his generation.—I doubt not but it will appear to the reader, that he hath dealt with the adversaries of the truth, in their chiefest holds, advantages, and strengths, putting them to shame in the calumnies and lies which they make their refuge."—And the learned Mr Henry Jeanes, the publisher of Dr Twisse's Riches of God's Love, says, in a preface to it, "Were this book, that I now present unto thy view, unto which there is not any peer for solidity, and accurateness in scholastic divinity in the English tongue, translated into Latin, I am persuaded that outlandish divines would have such an estimate of it, as Jerome had of certain books of the martyr Lucian, written with his own hand, which he valued as a precious jewel: or as Beza had of a commentary of Mr Rollock, on the Epistle to the Romans and Ephesians; concerning which he wrote to a friend, that he had gotten a treasure of incomparable worth." And Dr Ridgley, in his Body of Divinity, quest. 12, 13, speaking of Dr Twisse, says, "I am not ashamed to own my very great esteem of this excellently learned and pious writer, who was as considerable for that part of learning, which his works discover him to have been conversant in, as most in his day." And Dr Hall, bishop of Norwich, in a letter to a friend, relative to a small book of Dr Twisse's, entitled, "The Doubting Conscience Resolved," says, "I return you many thanks for the favours you have done me, in affording me the view of this solid and seasonable piece of Dr Twisse, in full answer to this pretended questionist. This sculking and disguised challenger

could not have met with a meeter combatant; a man so eminent in school-divinity, that the Jesuits have felt, and for ought I see, shrunk under his strength, in their *Scientia Media.*—The man shall find himself here over-answered; and receive too much honour from such an antagonist, in that it may be said of him, "Thou fallest by the right hand of the great Eneas." The elder Spanhiem styles him, *Subtilissimus Theologus simul & Philosophus*, a most acute philosopher as well as divine. And Mr Neal says, in his History of the Puritans, vol. iii. chap. vii. "He was allowed to be a person of prodigious knowledge in school divinity—a subtle disputant—and withal, a modest, humble, and religious person." The concurring testimony of so many eminent divines must be of considerable importance to establish the truth of the above narrative, and also to ascertain Dr Twisse's true character. And, here we see, that his literary reputation was not confined to England; but also widely extended beyond the seas. And his most learned adversaries have confessed, that there was nothing then extant, more exact, accurate and full, touching the Arminian controversy, than what he published; nor have any written upon this argument since the publication of Dr Twisse's works, without making honourable mention of him. And what Cornelius Nepos, the famous biographer of antiquity, says, with regard to Themistocles, the celebrated Athenian commander, who bravely defended Athens, may well be applied to Dr Twisse with relation to the Arminian controversy. "Themistocles was great in this war, and no less in peace." [a] And a real attachment to the truth, along with an ardent desire to ascertain it unto the satisfaction of his own mind, was his apology for distinguishing himself so much in a controversial way, as appears from his preface to a book against Mr Cotton.

Mr Clark says, That he needed neither trophies, marbles, nor epitaphs. He provided monuments for himself by every volume which he wrote, which will be more durable than either statues of brass or marble.

a Nep. Them. c. vi.

And biographers have done great justice to his memory: —Wood's Athen. Oxon. Leigh's Treatise of Learned Men; and in Fuller's Worthies of England.—He hath a place in Clark's Lives of Eminent Persons, London, 1683, folio;—in Middleton's Biographia Evangelica, vol. iii. London, 1784;—and in the Biographical and Martyrological Dictionary, by a clergyman and others: Newcastle-upon-Tyne, printed by Angus, 1790. And his name well deserves a place in every literary history of England, and in the archives of the reformed churches, both at home and abroad. And, we may well say concerning Dr Twisse, what Eutropius the Roman historian says with regard to Mithridates, king of Pontus, a very valiant man, who maintained a long war against the Romans, when he gives an account of his death, —"He was a man of great activity, understanding, and conduct." [a]

I shall here subjoin a part of a poem, which I lately procured in London, as it especially respects Dr Twisse's death, as Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

"The great Assembly once renown'd,
Whose fame in foreign parts did sound,
Displac'd on earth, in haste remove
Their session to their house above.
Seraphic TWISSE went first 'tis true,
As Prolocutor, it was his due:
Then Borroughs, Marshall, Whitaker, Hill,
Gouge, Gataker, Ash, Vines, White,—still
Sharp swords soon'st cut their sheaths—Pern, Strong,
Spurstowe, Tuckney, Calamy, they throng
The gate of bliss, as if they fear
That heaven would fill e'er they got there.
He's with the rest, the praise to sing,
Of our most loving Lord and King;
There no dissenting brethren be,
But all as one, in one agree.

a Eutrop. l. 6. 12.

One mouth, one mind, one heart, one way;
No strife, which side shall bear the sway.
All doubts resolv'd, all knots unty'd,
All truth in the God of truth espy'd:
With warmest love they there embrace
Each other, full of perfect grace:
Their glory's great, their wealth is vast;
But O the pleasure that they taste
I' the tree of life, and in the sight
Of that blest face, that's all delight.
What tongue can tell, what mind can think,
What joy 'tis of this spring to drink!
Go fawning world, tempt me no more,
With thy skin-deep fading store,—
Thy best, thy whole is but a toy
To that these happy souls enjoy.
My God invites to angels fare,
To which thy trash cannot compare:
On swinish husks why should I feed,
When I may eat what's meat indeed?
O let my heaven-born soul expire
Itself in sallies, and desire
Only to rest, and make its stay,
Where Thou ART ALL IN ALL *for aye.*"

THE writings of those eminent Divines, who convened in the famous Assembly at Westminster, in the seventeenth century, in general, afford us clear and full views of the nature and perfection of God—of man's fatal apostasy from God—of the evil nature and just demerit of sin—of the total depravity of human nature—the utter impossibility of sinners ever doing any thing which can recommend them to God—the absolute sovereignty and entire freedom of divine grace, as displayed in the eternal choice of the vessels of mercy, their free justification through the finished righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, the necessity of divine influence in their regeneration, conversion, sanctification, and perseverance to the

end—with the necessity of personal religion, and practical godliness, as expressions of gratitude for redeeming love, and evidences both to themselves and others of their union with Christ as their vital Head, their progress in faith and holiness, and the sincerity of their christian profession.

Dr Twisse's writings, in particular, are chiefly directed against these strong and crafty enemies of God's sovereignty and grace, Arminians and Jesuits, as may be seen at the conclusion of the account of his life, and in the following catalogue of his learned works. The reformers in Britain, as in other European countries, embraced the scriptural and Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and absolute decrees. And, upon this system, they composed all the articles of their religious creed. But these principles having met with strong opposition from Arminius and his party, the important controversy was soon introduced into the British island. Here, it was extensively diffussed, in a short time. The Arminians found much encouragement from the superstitious spirit of the episcopal church of England, and gradually incorporated themselves therewith. And some of that party, by the peculiar indulgence of king James the First, and his son and successor, Charles, attained the highest preferments in the hierarchy.[a]

Doctor Twisse most vigorously and successfully opposed the false tenets both of Arminians and Jesuits, at this critical time. His writings have deservedly obtained a considerable share of reputation, both at home and abroad. They are generally full of very acute, forcible, and animated, reasoning. By them his memory is still preserved; and he continues to *contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.* They are:

1. *A discovery of Dr Jackson's Vanity:* or, *A Perspective-glass, whereby the admirers of Dr Jackson's profound discourses, may see the vanity and weakness of them, in sundry passages, and especially so far as they*

a Hume's Hist. Engl. vol. vi. chap. li. 1629. and Appendix to the Reign of James I. p. 166. edit. Edin. 1792.

tend to the undermining of the doctrine hitherto received. 4to. pp. 710. Printed in the year 1631. It is not said where it was printed, in the title page; but Wood says that it was printed beyond the sea, which is very probable; for a learned piece of Dr Twisse's against Arminius, was stopped in the press at home about this time. This book was written against Dr Jackson's Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes, but the Doctor made no reply.[a] I have one copy of this book; and I have seen another at Lochgoin, in Ayrshire.

2. *Vindiciæ Gratiæ, Potestatis, Ac Providentiæ, Dei.* Folio, Amstelodami, 1632. In Latin.

This very large and most elaborate vindication of the sovereignty and Grace of God, which was written against the Arminians and the Jesuites, was well received, and highly useful at this time. It was much esteemed at home, and an honour to English literature abroad. The learned Rivet informs us, that this excellent work was so acceptable to the public, that, although it was of a great size, when two editions were sold off, a third came forth by the same printer who had printed the first edition. This third edition seems to have been printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1648, according to Wood and Rivet; but I have not yet seen a copy of this edition.[b] I have seen several copies of the folio edition, 1632.—One in Wigtonshire,—one in Renfrewshire,—one in the library of the University of Glasgow,—one in the library of the late Mr Thomson, Quarrelwood,—another in the library belonging to the presbytery of Dumfries; and it is in the catalogue of books in the Theological library, belonging to the students of divinity in the University of Edinburgh, 1757. I have also seen one copy of the second edition, 4to. Amstel. 1632. in the library of the University of Glasgow.

3. *Dissertatio de Scientia Media Tribus Libris Absoluta.* Folio, pp. 498. Arnhemii, 1639. In Latin. I have

a Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 81.

b See Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 81. and Rivet's Pref. to Twisse, de Pred. Amstel. 1649.

seen one copy of this in Renfrewshire, in the year 1807. and another at Quarrelwood. And it is in the catalogue of the books, in the library belonging to the presbytery of Dumfries, 1784. p. 45. foot; and in that of books in the Theological library, belonging to the students of divinity in the University of Edinburgh, above-mentioned.

4. *Of the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, as still in force to bind Christians: delivered by way of Answer to the Translator of Doctor Prideaux's Lecture, concerning the doctrine of the Sabbath.* 4to. pp. 248. London, 1641. In English. It is divided into two parts, 1. An answer to the Prefacer. 2. A Consideration of Dr Prideaux's Lecture. The book will amply repay the trouble of a perusal. It still occurs in the catalogues of books; especially in Edinburgh and London: price 2s. I have seen several copies of it in Scotland; one in the library of the University of Glasgow; and I have seen it in England.

5. *An Examination of Mr Cotton's Treatise concerning Predestination.* 4to. London, 1646. In English. I have seen two copies of it in Scotland.

6. *Animadversiones de Prædestinatione. Amstel.* 1649. Folio, in Latin. This was published by Andrew Rivet. It is a large and learned work, containing animadversions respecting Predestination, Grace, and Free-will, against Arminius, Corvinus, and others. And when this ingenious and indefatigable writer saw that the cause was deserted and betrayed by Tilemus, which he had undertaken to defend, he left nothing untouched on the subject. He took upon himself the burden of answering all the adversaries of truth.[a] I have seen this elaborate work, in the library belonging to the presbytery of Dumfries, two copies of it in Wigtonshire, one in Renfrewshire, and two in the library of the University of Glasgow.

7. *The Scriptures sufficiency to determine all matters of Faith, made good against the Papist: or, That a Christian may be infallibly certain of his Faith and Reli-*

a See Rivet's Preface to this book.

gion by the Holy Scriptures. This is a small book; and it seems to have been first printed, in the year 1652; at least its imprimatur bears that date; but I have not seen a copy of that edition. It was printed at London, 1656. I have a copy of this edition.—Dumfries, 1795. I have some copies of this last edition unsold, which the encouragers of this work may have, if they please. Price 6*d.* A good type, and paper.

8. *The Riches of God's Love unto the Vessels of Mercy, consistent with his absolute Hatred or Reprobation of the Vessels of Wrath.* Small folio. Oxford, 1653. In English. Controversial. I have seen several copies of this book, in Scotland.

9. Fifteen Letters to Mr Joseph Mede. In these, there are several things very curious and entertaining, respecting the two witnesses, Rev. xi.—the conversion of the Jews—some obscure passages in the book of Daniel—America—the frequent celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper—and the holiness of times and places. See Mede's Works, folio, 3d edit. London, 1672.

10. Prefaces to the learned works of others; as to Mr Joseph Mede's Apostacy of the Latter Times. London, 1642—1644. And to Mr Mede's Key of the Revelation. London, 1643. Both these Prefaces I have seen.

The learned Thomas Godwin, a very celebrated writer on Roman and Jewish antiquities, in the seventeenth century, was the author of "Three Arguments to prove Election upon Foresight of Faith." This treatise involved the author, in a temporary controversy with the learned Twisse. Godwin seems not to have acquired much fame, by this controversy, in the character of a theological disputant.[a] These are all the writings of the learned Twisse that I have seen.

a See Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 27. Gen. Biogr. vol. iv. under Godwin.

CORNELIUS BURGESS, D. D.

PASTOR OF WATFORD.

CORNELIUS BURGESS was descended from the Burgesses of Batcomb, in Somersetshire, in England. He was educated in the ancient and famous University of Oxford. His first entrance into this University was, in the year 1611; but in what college or hall is uncertain. However, he translated himself unto Wadham college, about the time of its first foundation, and as a member thereof took the degree of bachelor of Arts. Afterward retiring to Lincoln college, he proceeded in the same faculty, received holy orders, and had some care bestowed upon him, which Wood takes to be the rectory of Magnus' church in London, or the vicarage of Watford, in Hartfordshire, or both. In the beginning of the reign of king Charles the first, he became one of his chaplains in ordinary; and in 1627, he took both the degrees in divinity.[a]

He was greatly harassed by that very arbitrary and inquisitorial tribunal, the high-commission court, for opposing the Laudensian faction. The court of high-commission had been erected by Elizabeth, in consequence of an act of parliament, passed in the beginning of her reign. By this act, it was intended, during the great revolution of religious affairs, to arm the sovereign with full powers, in order to discourage and suppress opposition. All appeals from the inferior ecclesiastical courts were carried before the high-commission; and consequently, the whole life and doctrine of the ecclesiastics lay directly under it's inspection. Every breach of the

a Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p 347. 2d edit.

act of uniformity, every refusal of the ceremonies, was cognizable in this court; and during the reign of Elizabeth, had been punished by deprivation, by fine, confiscation, and imprisonment.[a] And this tyrannical court, with all its iniquities and terrors, was continued in the following reigns, whereby many were greatly harassed.

The subject of this memoir was brought into that court, by a powerful adversary, who had formed a strong party against him, for being disaffected to episcopal government, and for permitting some to sit, when they received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in the year 1622. He was again questioned there, for refusing to read the common prayer in his surplice and hood, before the sermon, in the year 1629. This was upon a Thursday, when he was called to preach for another, who was a Lecturer; and when every Lecturer was enjoined to read divine service before the lecture in his surplice and hood, in order to deter godly ministers from the practice.[b] In the year 1635, he preached a sermon in Latin to the London-ministers, in Alphage church, near Sion-College, by an appointment of the governors thereof. In this sermon, he warmly urged all possible diligence in preaching the *gospel of the kingdom.* Among other arguments, he produced what had been anciently required respecting this, even of the bishops themselves. He reminded them of the third part of the public homily against the peril of idolatry, wherein it is said, of the primitive bishops, "That they were preaching bishops, more often seen in pulpits, than in princes' palaces; more often occupied in his legacy, who said, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel,* than in the embassages and affairs of princes."[c] After this, he recited an old canon of the sixth general council in Trullo, with Zonaras's note upon it; which canon enjoined bishops "to preach often; at least, every Lord's-day, or to be canoni-

a Hume's Hist. of England, vol. vi. Appendix to the Reign of James I. edit. 1792.

b See Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. iv. 1629.

c See the author's Chain of Graces, chap. iv. p. 76.

cally admonished for their neglect: whereupon, if they reformed not, it was farther ordained, that they should be excommunicated, or deposed." Some of his prelatical hearers, though they gave him thanks for his sermon, informed the archbishop of Canterbury against him, who gave in a complaint against him to the king. Upon this, he was summoned by letters missive into the high-commission court, which was then little better than the Spanish inquisition, and peculiarly destructive to all religious liberty, especially after Laud had obtained a grant from the king, that all fines imposed there should go to repair Paul's Cathedral, in London. Upon his appearance there, articles were exhibited against him, charging him with being disaffected to the book of common prayer, the ceremonies, and government of the church by bishops; as also for charging the bishops with conniving at the then too palpable growth of *Arminianism* and *popery*, and their too much conforming thereunto; but chiefly, because he seemed to accuse several prelates and bishops of neglecting to preach often, representing the ancient bishops, as deeply penetrated with the importance of the charge committed to them, and frequently and diligently preaching the gospel of Christ. The bishops now furiously spurned against him, and there party every where said, That he should be both *deprived* and *degraded*. And no doubt, this would have been effected, if he had not given them enough in his answers to the articles exhibited against him, and in his protestation annexed to his sermon delivered to archbishop Laud, professed to stand to what he said in that sermon, against all opposers even to the death. After this, he was not farther troubled.[a] He possessed that spirited and manly character, which eminently distinguished our reforming ancestors; and obtained a signal victory over his powerful opponents. His active zeal in the service of the church was eminently conspicuous, on this, and on several other occasions.

a A Case concerning the Lawfulness of Buying Bishops' Lands, Lond. 1659, p. 28. No Sacrilege nor Sin to Purchase Bishops' Lands, chap. vi. 2d edit. p. 165, 166, & 167.

And, in his sermon, he faithfully and seasonably directed the attention of his hearers to objects both of great utility and importance. It was both seasonable and necessary, to urge diligence in preaching the gospel of the Son of God, when many were very remiss in this great work: and when such faithful ministers as preached twice on the same day, were, by a bishop, in a most scornful manner, compared to Virgil's cow, that came twice a-day to the milking-pail. An ardent desire for the glory of God, in the salvation of souls, raised the faithful preacher above the fear of danger, in performing the duties of his office. And deeply impressed with the great importance of the charge which was committed unto him, he honestly employed the talents which God had given him, in opposing Arminianism, and popery, which now produced it's full growth of superstition. Not like those who sacrifice every thing to the enjoyment of the moment, he supported the honourable cause of truth, with all the energy that he was capable of, even in dangerous times. This zealous champion for the interests of religion, entered the field of contest under the banners of truth and of purity. And our reformers in general, having a superiority of understanding conferred upon them, and of magnanimity and christian courage; and possessing, in an eminent degree, that good quality of a true subject of Christ's kingdom, a sincere and devoted attachment to truth, they boldly resisted the dangerous contagion of prevailing error, and of abounding superstition. And with a determined fortitude, persevered in their resistance, and were seconded, and warmly supported by the state, even the greatest of the nobility. And, unless they had acted in this mannner, instead of enlightening the world, as the stars in Christ's right-hand, and being beneficial to mankind, by the faithful discharge of the duties of their office, they would have added to the darkness and superstitious devices which prevailed, and would have proved a curse and a snare to their fellow-creatures. And they would have been guilty of the prostitution of their ingenuity, learning, and gifts, in the basest manner. But acting as they did, under the gracious influences and sweet

smiles of approving Heaven, they were *the salt of the earth*, and *the light of the world.*

When the Long Parliament was opened, Nov. 3d, 1640, the Houses petitioned the king to appoint a fast, and *call a solemn assembly*, that they might *turn to the Lord with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning*, and pray for a divine blessing upon their counsels. This fast was observed Nov. 17th, 1640. Dr Burgess, and Mr Marshall, were chosen and called to preach to the House of Commons, on this solemn occasion. Dr Burgess pseached from Jer. l. 5. "They shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, *saying*, Come, and let us join ourselves to to the Lord in a perpetual covenant, *that* shall not be forgotten." [a] Mr Hume says, that the preachers entertained them with discourses seven hours in length. [b] The sermons, undoubtedly, were long: they were both printed, and hitherto they have been preserved, and are very valuable. The principal doctrine exhibited and handled in Dr Burgess's sermon is, "When God vouchsafes any deliverance to his church, especially from Babylon, then it is most seasonable and most necessary to close with God by a more solemn, strict, and inviolable, covenant, to be his, and only his for ever." In prosecuting this doctrine, he first shews, That it hath always been the practice of God's people, upon obtaining any great deliverance, especially from Babylon, to enter into solemn covenant with the Lord. 2. How this ought to be done. 3. The reasons of entering into solemn covenant with the Lord, upon obtaining any deliverance by his hand, especially from Babylon. And the author pays very particular attention to the application of this sermon, dealing plainly and faithfully with his auditory, in reproof, information, and exhortation. The importance of the subject, the author's reputation, and the solemn occasion, seemed to require this particular account of the sermon.

Wood says, that upon the approach of the troublesome times, he, with Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, and

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. vii.
b Hume's Hist. vol. vi. chap. liv. 1640.

others, first whispered in their conventicles, and then openly preached, That *for the cause of religion it was lawful for the subjects to take up arms against their lawful sovereign.* Which doctrine being also followed by the rest of the elders, the people of London did violently rush into rebellion, and were found pliable by the faction in parliament to raise tumults, make out-cries for justice, call for innocent blood, subscribe and prefer petitions against the holy liturgy and the hierarchy, and to strike at root and branch, especially if our author Burgess did but hold up his finger to his myrmidons.[a] And the earl of Clarendon says, "Without doubt, the archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence upon the counsels at court, as Dr Burgess, and Mr Marshall had then upon the Houses."[b] An author and his reader are not always of the same opinion. And, the above-mentioned authors are much accustomed to enforce opinions, especially against the puritans, only by the weight of assertion. And they are much more intent on upholding a favourite party, by misrepresenting and abusing it's opponents, than by fairly stating the cause, and proving what is right, and what is wrong. They plead for superstition and prejudice, severely censuring the advocates for rational and religious liberty, seriously engaged in sober and free inquiry, and confounding them with those who were unprincipled and licentious. Dr Burgess, and Mr Marshall, were undoubtedly very active men, on the side of the parliament, in the civil war; but they only encouraged taking up arms for the *defence* and *security* of the constitution, and of the religious liberty of the subject, when these were violently attacked by the opposite party, and in the utmost danger. We cannot find by the closest researches, that they concurred in any degree, in those measures, which afterward overturned the constitution, and had a manifest tendency to confusion. Mr Marshall wrote a defence of the side he took in the civil war. Dr Burgess also has published an account of his

a Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 347.
b Clarendon's Hist. B. iv. vol. ii. p. 302.

principles and practices, which Dr Calamy thinks deserves to be preserved to posterity.[a] And, in this, and in his writings, the beneficent spirit and pacific principles of the christian religion clearly appear; though he has been treated by the royal party with no small degree of severity. Dr Burgess delivered an animated speech against deans and chapters, in the House of Commons, in the year 1641. The abolition of deans and chapters was now warmly debated in the House; and the application of their revenues to better purposes. This greatly alarmed the cathedral men, and excited them to consult their own safety. Accordingly, one divine was deputed from every English cathedral, to solicit their friends in the parliament in behalf of their several foundations. And addresses were readily presented from both the Universities in their favour. The deputies from the several cathedrals drew up a petition to the Lords and Commons for counsel; but upon being informed, that if they had any thing to offer they should appear and plead their own cause, they selected Dr John Hackett, prebendary of Paul's, and archdeacon of Bedford, for their counsel, who, being admitted to the bar of the House, after the petitions from the Universities had been read, made an elaborate speech in their behalf, chiefly insisting upon the topics of the address from Oxford. He warmly recommended cathedrals, as accommodated to supply the defects of private prayer; the public performance whereof should be in some place of distinction. He affirmed, that at the time of the Reformation, preaching began in cathedrals.—He warmly urged, that cathedrals were serviceable for the advancement of learning, and training up persons for the defence of the church; and that, the removal of them would be very hurtful to the cause of religion, and highly pleasing to their adversaries. That the ancient and genuine use of deans and chapters was to assist the bishop in his jurisdiction; and as some had complained, that bishops for many years had usurped the sole government to themselves and their consistories, the continua-

a Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 737.

tion of chapters rightly used would bring it to a plurality of assistants. He then reminded them of the antiquity of the structures, and the number of persons maintained by them, amounting to many thousands.—He farther enlarged upon the endowments of cathedrals, as greatly encouraging industry and virtue; that several famous protestants of foreign countries had been maintained by being installed prebendaries, as Casaubon, Saravia, Peter du Moulin, Vossius, and others; and that these foundations were highly beneficial to the crown, paying greater sums into the exchequer for first fruits and tenths, in proportion, than other corporations. And finally, he reminded them, That these structures and estates were consecrated to divine service, and barred all alienation with the most dreadful imprecations. Afterward, Dr Cornelius Burgess appeared on the opposite side, against deans and chapters; and made a long and appropriate speech, respecting the unprofitableness of those corporations. He complained that the lives of singing men were debauched, and that their conversation was vicious. He pointedly and extensively replied to the particulars of Dr Hackett's elaborate speech; and, in the concluding passage, said, "Though he apprehended that it was necessary to apply these foundations to better purposes, yet it was by no means lawful to alienate them from public and pious uses, or to convert them to the profit of any private person." [a] He was a strenuous advocate for reformation, at this critical time. And his laudable zeal for the interests of religion, on this remarkable occasion, undoubtedly was attended with beneficial effects. By the prudent and effectual measures, which our reformers adopted, the pressure of the prevailing evils was greatly alleviated. The returning spirit of christian zeal had now taught them to inquire into, and to attempt, under God, a redress of several grievances, and to consult on the most efficacious way to compose the distracted state of the church. In

a Fuller's Eccles. Hist. B. xi. p. 176—179. Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. ix. Or vol. i. 706. 4to. More speeches against Deans and Chapters may be seen in Mr Neal's Hist.

these measures, they were most strenuously opposed by many. But amid all opposition, our reformers, as respectable instruments in the hand of the Lord, completely disentangled truth from error, and purity from corruption. And the immediate consequence was, that many seasonably obtained the sweets of liberty, who had for a long time been held closely in the chains of captivity. These interesting proceedings are detailed more extensively, in the history of the times.

Dr Burgess, taking part with the parliament, was chosen to be one of those pacific divines, who met in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster, in 1641, for accommodating ecclesiastical differences. They consulted together six several days; and the dean entertained them during that time at his table; but they were not successful in accommodating the differences.[a] He frequently preached before the parliament, especially the House of Commons. Wood says, That he was thought fit by the parliament to be one of those *godly divines*, who were to hold forth before them. And, in this opinion, undoubtedly, the parliament were not mistaken, as the author's sermons, which have been hitherto carefully preserved, in the goodness of Divine providence, abundantly evince. In this, also, Wood said truly, though he sat in the scorner's chair when he wrote it, as clearly appears by his narrative.[b] Wood, generally, is very little scrupulous respecting the characters against whom he levels the shafts of his indignation, especially the puritans: but I shall not trouble either myself, or the reader, here, with retailing his illiberal invective against Dr Burgess.

The Doctor, being highly approved for his zeal, valour and fidelity, and admirably adapted to the nature of the military service, was wisely selected by the earl of Essex, the general of the parliament's army, to be chaplain to his regiment of horsemen. The most eminent and suitable divines were appointed chaplains to the several regiments; and while these continued with them, none

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. ix.
b Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 348.

of the enthusiastic follies, which afterward appeared, and were truly reproachable, discovered themselves.[a] Such chaplains were highly beneficial to the parliamentary army, to direct their views aright, to afford them aid in their devotion, and to excite them in the performance of their duty, in defence of their liberty and religion, when the situation of public affairs was truly alarming. They were now called *to add to their faith*, *virtue*, or military valour, as the word generally denotes in Homer.

Dr Burgess was one of the famous Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and, with Mr John White, was chosen to be Assessor. Two Assessors were joined with the Prolocutor, to supply his place in case of absence or sickness. Mr Robert Baillie, from the church of Scotland, who was present in that assembly, says, "The one Assessor, our good friend Dr Burgess, a very active and sharp man, supplies, so far as is decent, the Prolocutor's place; the other, our good friend Mr White, has kept in of the gout since our coming."[b] When the solemn league and covenant was transmitted to the assembly of divines at Westminster, on the first of Sept. 1643, and generally approved, Dr Burgess argued against imposing it. Mr Baillie says, that he doubted for one night. Dr Calamy says, "He argued against imposing the covenant, and refused the taking it, till he was suspended: but having once taken it, he thought himself obliged to keep it, and was grieved, that he could not prevail with others to be of the same mind, or to act agreeably."[c] Undaunted courage seems to have been the distinguishing characteristic of Dr Burgess. Seemingly, he was never afraid to speak his mind on any occasion, nor in any assembly; and accordingly, he spake freely respecting the covenant, at this critical time. And he seems to have taken it after mature deliberation, which was certainly very proper in so great and interesting a matter. We are told, that even the cautious suspense of Tacitus,

a Wood's Ath. Oxon. as above. Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. xii.

b Baillie's Letters, vol. i. lett. xxxix. p. 399.

c Baillie's Lett. vol. i. p. 390. Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 745.

a most accurate observer, in a doubtful matter, was a proof of his diligent inquiries:[a] and this seems to have been the case here.

When the bishops refused to ordain any who were not in the interest of the crown, and application was made to the assembly at Westminster for their advice in this matter, they advised, That an association of some godly ministers in and about London, and in other places, be appointed by public authority, to ordain ministers for the city and other parts. Agreeably to this advice, the Houses of parliament passed an ordinance, 2 Oct. 1644, for the ordination of ministers for the time, appointing ten, being presbyters, and members of the Assembly, to examine and ordain, by imposition of hands, those whom they should judge admissible into the sacred office of the ministry. Dr Burgess was one of that number, and his name is first in the list. Others were appointed to this work, who were not members of the Assembly.[b]

When Paul's Cathedral was again opened, Dr Burgess was appointed by the parliament at the request of the people, as Lecturer there on the sabbath-evening, and on a work-day, with a settled allowance of £400 yearly out of the revenues of the Cathedral.

When the parliament published the necessity of an advance of money, horses, and plate, by a voluntary *loan*, upon the *public faith*, *for defence of the king and parliament*, when the king, seduced by evil counsel, had deserted the parliament, and raised an army against them, Dr Burgess did lend several sums of money, in the integrity of his heart, for the defence of both king and parliament. He resolved to have suffered any death, rather than to lend one penny, or to have spoken one word in that cause, upon any other account; as he afterward declared to a committee of the parliament. The parliament, by an ordinance, Nov. 16, 1646, appointed and ordained all the lands and revenues of the bishops to be sold, to raise money for the use of the state. In this

a Gibbon's Hist. Rom. Emp. vol. i. chap. x. edit. 1791.
b Neal's Hist. vol. iii. chap. iv. 1644.

ordinance, they invited all who had before lent money, horses, and plate, for the service of the king and parliament, upon the public faith, to *double* this: and to take the whole out of the lands of bishops, either in money or lands; intimating, that they who did not double, must expect no other security for what they did lend formerly, but the then-despised public faith; nor to be paid, till all *doublers* were satisfied. Dr Burgess seeing this necessity of doubling, to prevent hazarding all, doubled all his bills, which then amounted to £3400, beside his loan for Ireland. He endeavoured to receive all again in money, but could not. Having a wife, and ten children to provide for, who must all be ruined, if that money miscarried; and finding the divisions of the parties, who now managed the public affairs, and pursued several interests, daily increasing; and himself badly requited for all his faithful services, he was obliged to take out his money in *bishops' lands.* And he declares, that this was the only reason of his purchasing these lands.[a] For this he hath suffered severely by the scourge of tongues. The reader who wishes to see this subject minutely handled, may consult the case as here referred to, and the author's book, entitled, "No Sacrilege, nor Sin, to Purchase the Lands of Bishops." Upon the king's restoration he lost all, though about a year before he had been offered above twelve thousand pounds for his house and lands at or near Wells, according to Wood.

Dr Burgess preached a sermon at Mercers chapel, Jan. 14, 1648, in which he inveighed, with great freedom, against the design of taking off the king, and feared not the consequence. And about the same time, he appeared at the head of a number of ministers, who, in exposing themselves, subscribed a paper, entitled, *A vindication of the ministers of the gospel, in and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the king to capital punishment.* This paper was drawn

a A Case concerning the Buying of Bishops Lands, p. 1, 2, 3. London, 1659. See the following pages of the case.

up by Dr Burgess, and Dr Calamy has given it at length, with fifty-seven names subscribed.[a] It runs thus:

" It cannot be unknown how much we, and other ministers of this city and kingdom, that faithfully adhered to the parliament, have injuriously smarted under the scourge of evil tongues and pens, ever since the first eruption of the unhappy differences and unnatural war between the king and parliament, for our obedience to the commands and orders of the honourable Houses, in their contests with his majesty, and conflicts with his armies. We are not ignorant of the overbusy intermeddlings of prelates and their party heretofore, in overruling civil affairs to the great endangering of kingdoms, and of this in particular, when private interests, ambitious designs, revenge, or other sinister ends, engaged them beyond their sphere. Howbeit it cannot reasonably (as we conceive) be denied, that ministers as subjects, being bound to obey the laws and to preserve the liberties of the kingdom, and having an interest in them and the happiness of them, as well as others, may and ought (without incurring the just censure due to busy-bodies and incendiaries) to appear, for preserving the laws and liberties of that commonwealth whereof they are members; especially in our case, when it was declared by the parliament, that all was at stake and in danger to be lost. No, nor as ministers ought they to hold their peace, in a time wherein the sins of rulers and magistrates as well as others have so far provoked God as to kindle the fire of his wrath against his people. And yet, for this alone, the faithful servants of God, have in all ages, through the malice of Satan and his intruments been traduced as Archincendiaries, when only their accusers, are indeed both guilty of laying the train, and of putting fire to it, to blow up a kingdom."

But we cannot insert all the paper here. In it, the subscribers strongly declare their dissatisfaction with the proceedings at Westminster against the king; and accord-

a Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 737—744. See also Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. chap. x.

ing to their covenant, in the name of the Great God, they warn and exhort the people of their respective charges, and any who attended their ministry, or to whom they have administered the covenant; to abide by their vows, and the ways of God, constantly maintaining the true reformed religion, the fundamental constitution, and the government of the kingdom; and not to suffer themselves to be seduced to subscribe the *agreement of the people*, which was the subversion of the present constitution, and opened the way for the universal toleration of all heresies and blasphemies, directly contrary to the covenant, and would effectually divide the kingdoms of England and Scotland. They farther exhort the people to mourn bitterly for their own sins, the sins of the city, army, parliament, and kingdom, and for the woful miscarriages of the king himself in his government, which cast him down from his excellency into an horrid pit of misery, almost beyond example; and to pray, that God would give him effectual repentance, and sanctify the bitter cup of Divine displeasure, which Divine providence had put into his hand; and that God would restrain the violence of men, that they may not dare to draw upon themselves and the kingdom the blood of their sovereign.

They who would judge impartially, in this affair, ought carefully to peruse this paper. It was openly and boldly published, in a very critical time.—Some bitter invectives have been published against Dr Burgess; but many good men have suffered in their reputation, from those who were unfriendly to the cause in which they were engaged.[a]

His name is found among many other respectable names, in Dr Calamy's Account and Index of those who were ejected or silenced by the act for uniformity. He was ejected, from St Andrew's, in the city of Wells, in Somersetshire, after the restoration of king Charles II.

Immediately after the restoration, the royalists and zealous churchmen were the popular party in the nation, and

a See Toulmin's edition of Neal's Hist. vol. i. p. 419. Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 745.

seconded by the efforts of the court, had prevailed in most of the elections. Mr Hume says, that not more than fifty-six members of the presbyterian party had obtained seats in the Lower House; and these were not able either to oppose or retard the measures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and episcopacy, were now exalted to as great power and splendour as they had lately suffered misery and depression.

The covenant itself, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice, that for subscribing the engagement, and for declaring England a commonwealth, were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The people assisted with great alacriy on this occasion.[a]

Bishops were restored to their seats in parliament, from which they had been excluded by the law which the late king had passed, immediately before the commencement of the civil war. And after an adjournment of some months, the parliament was again assembled, and proceeded in the same spirit as before, Nov. 20. 1661. The church was not less attended to now, than the monarchy. And the bill of uniformity was an evidence of their strong attachment to the episcopal hierarchy, and of their antipathy to presbyterianism. It contained very severe clauses, requiring, that every clergyman, to render him capable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice, should have episcopal ordination, and be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; should declare his assent and consent to every thing contained in the book of common-prayer, adminstration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, with the psalter, and the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons; should take the oath of canonical obedience; should abjure the Solemn League and Covenant; and renounce the principle of taking arms against the king, upon any pretence whatever.[b]

a Hume's Hist. Engl. vol. vii. chap. lxiii. edit. Edin. 1792. Rapin's Hist. Engl. vol. ii. fol. B. xxiii. 1661.

b Hume's Hist. Engl. as above, Macpherson's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. chap. i. Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. chap. vi. and Rapin's Hist. Engl. vol. ii. B. xxiii.

Mr Neal says, "It appears from hence, that the terms of conformity were higher than before the civil wars, and the common-prayer book more exceptionable; for instead of striking out the apocryphal lessons, more were inserted, as the story of Bel and the Dragon; and some new holy days were added, as St Barnabas, and the conversion of St Paul; a few new collects and alterations were made by the bishops themselves, but care was taken, says Burnet, that nothing should be altered, as was moved by the presbyterians."—And Mr Hume well observes, that "This bill reinstated the church in the same condition in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old persecuting laws of Elizabeth still subsisted in their full rigor, and new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and of indulgence to tender consciences were thereby eluded and broken." And Mr Rapin has some judicious remarks on this act, which the reader, who hath an opportunity, may see in his History of England, or in Neal's History, as referred to here.

This bill, of extreme severity, took it's rise in the House of Lords, and received various alterations when it was sent down to the Commons. Bishop Burnet says, that it passed by no great majority. The 24th of Aug. 1662, the day of St Bartholomew's feast, was the time when the execution of this act commenced. This day seems to have been pitched on, that, if they were then deprived, they should lose the external supports of the whole year, since the tythes are commonly due at Michaelmas. And, in this circumstance, the severity was much greater.[a] When queen Elizabeth enacted the liturgy, and during the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth part of each living was left to the ejected minister, for his subsistence; but this indulgence, though at first insisted on by the House of Peers, was now refused to the presbyterians. And to add unto the distress of those who were cast out by the act of uniformity, another was passed, called the five-mile-act, banishing them five miles

a Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 268, & 269.

from any city, borough, or church in which they had before served. Hereby they were placed at such a distance from their acquaintance and friends, that they had not opportunity to help them, though they might be disposed to minister unto their relief. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and six months imprisonment. Mr Hume observes, that this act "has given occasion to grievous and not unjust complaints. The church, under pretence of guarding monarchy against its inveterate enemies, persevered in the project of wreaking her own enmity against the nonconformists." And this was an expedient to deprive them of all means of subsistence. And there was another act prohibiting their meeting to worship God any where except in the episcopal churches, or according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, under the penalties of heavy fines, imprisonments, and banishment to foreign lands. It was now enacted, that wherever five persons above those of the same household should assemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable for the first offence, to be imprisoned three months, or pay five pounds; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay ten pounds; and for the third, to be transported seven years, or pay an hundred pounds.[a]

By ejecting the non-conforming ministers from their churches, separating them from their acquaintance and friends, and prohibiting all separate congregations, they reduced them to extraordinary calamities. And these violences were preludes to the most furious and hellish persecution.

Dr Burgess, and many more, absolutely refused compliance with the act of uniformity, though these complicated calamities attended the refusal. And, with great suffering, and much worldly loss, they boldly entered their protest against this presumptuous invasion of Christ's throne and crown-rights: this most schismatical intrusion of strange

a Hume's Hist. Engl. vol. vii. chap. lxiv. Towgood's Dissent, Lett. ii. p. 83. 5th edit. Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 329, & 429. &c.

terms of communion into his church, the house of the living God. With great supernatural courage, and in dependence on the Father of mercies, they sacrificed their temporal interest to their religion, to the astonishment of their avowed enemies: *choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season*, in compliance with such measures. And indeed our reforming ancestors, who had taken the covenant, and were really presbyterians, could not comply with the uniformity-act, without being chargeable with the most glaring inconsistency, unfaithfulness, and perjury. And "to their immortal praise be it recorded, they better understood their *rights as men*, and their *duty as Christ's subjects*, the alone King and Head of the church, than basely to comply with these things." By complying, they must have renounced the validity of presbyterian ordination; and consequently have disowned the ministrations of all such as were so ordained: and engaged to maintain episcopacy, which they had sworn to extirpate. And, as the uniformity-act particularly required the abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant, with a declaration of it's unlawfulness, they could not in conscience comply, while they viewed themselves under the obligations of that covenant. The king, and his episcopal party, were always violently set against this covenant. One observes and says, "There is nothing has whetted the wit of the cavaliers, so much as the Solemn League and Covenant. I imagined by what they said of it, before I read it, that it was some such infernal engagement as witches, or rather as Oliver Cromwell entered into with the devil, in a wood in Worcestershire, according to some." [a] Our venerable ancestors were, therefore, more particularly called to adhere solemnly and stedfastly to this covenant, as they did, by their noncompliance with the act of uniformity. And, who could subscribe and declare, "That it is not lawful upon *any pretence whatever*, to take arms against the king, or any commissioned by him?" "A notoriously false, base and

b Clarendon and Whitlocke compared, chap. v.

scandalous declaration:—a dangerous and important untruth!" [a] By this compliance our respectable reformers would have entirely given up all their rights as men, and their immunities as christians. And this would have been passive obedience, and non-resistence indeed. But their animated refusal added much to their respectability. Mr Towgood, speaking concerning those who were cast out by the act of uniformity, says: To this, "as christians and as protestants they bravely scorned to submit. Noble was the stand which they made in defence of christian liberty and truth. Glorious will their names ever shine in the British annals, while virtue and integrity are sacred among us. Peace and everlasting honour be upon the memory of these christian heroes: future generations will rise and call them blessed!" [b] Mr Locke calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines, who did not throw themselves out of service, but were forcibly ejected.[c]

And, Dr Burgess was not ejected alone by this act of uniformity. A great and very respectable *cloud of witnesses*, were his brethren and companions in *this tribulation*, and *in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ.* Mr Hume says, "The terms of subscription had been made strict and rigid, on purpose to disgust all the zealous and scrupulous among the presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About two thousand of the clergy in one day relinquished their cures; and to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets." [d] Rapin says, "St Bartholomew's-day being come, on which the act of uniformity was to take place, two thousand presbyterian ministers chose rather to quit their livings, than submit to the conditions of this act. It was expected, that a division would have happened among them, and that a great number would have chose rather to conform to the church of England,

a Towgood's Dissent, lett. iii. sect. vi. See Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 329.

b Towgood's Dissent, lett. iii. sect. vi.

c Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. chap. vi.

d Hume's Hist. Engl. vol. vii. chap. lxiii. 1662.

than see themselves reduced to beggary. It was not therefore without extreme surprize, that they were all seen to stand out, not so much as one suffering himself to be tempted." [a] Another says, "By this act, two thousand ministers, who could not chime in with the English hierarchy and service, which was then obtruded upon them, were expelled from their livings and charges." [b]

A celebrated writer and philosopher says, "The desire of truth has made me deviate from established and very favourite principles." [c] And a desire of the truth, and close adherence to it, made the nonconformists deviate from the established and favourite principles of the king and his party. Truth is always truth; it has "an intrinsic and unalterable value, and constitutes that intellectual gold, which defies destruction;" and, therefore, such as perceive its excellence will cleave to it under every hardship.

The subject of this memoir, and his companions in tribulation, being delivered from *the fear of man which bringeth a snare*, and *putting their trust in the Lord*, were determined to take up their cross, and follow Christ. *These are they who follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*, Rev. xiv. 4. Fortified by divine grace, clothed with *the whole armour of God*, and helped by society in their sufferings, they were resolved to undergo any hardships, rather than openly renounce their principles; *holding fast the profession of their faith without wavering; for he is faithful who promised*, Heb. x. 23.

And many afterward suffered all the horrors of the most violent and diabolical persecution, for their nonconformity: even females are not excepted, nor Scotland more than England. But here I must imitate Mr Hume, who says: "It were endless, as well as shocking, to enumerate all the instances of persecution, or, in other words, of absurd tyranny, which at that time prevailed in Scot-

a Rapin's Hist. Engl. 1662.
b Christian Mag. vol. x. p. 250.
c Sullivan's View of Nat. vol. ii. lett. 32.

land. One of them, however, is so singular, that I cannot forbear relating it." [a] It is that of three females, who were seized and condemned to a capital punishment by drowning, at Wigtown, for nonconformity, or a stedfast adherence to Christ's crown-rights, and the covenanted-work of reformation.[b] One of them was an elderly woman; about sixty-three years of age: the other two were young, and sisters; the one eighteen years of age, and the other about thirteen. The youngest was not put to death, but was set free at her father's request, upon the footing of a bond of one hundred pounds sterling: but the other two, Margaret M'Lauchlan, and Margaret Wilson, were conducted to the place of execution, amid a numerous crowd of spectators, and were tied to stakes within the sea-mark at low water, where they were drowned, and finished their course with joy. The barbarous contrivance of these merciless persecutors rendered the death of these illustrious sufferers both very lingering and most dreadful. They suffered the lingering horrors of a protracted death.

——"Sex nor age,
Beauty nor innocence, escap'd their rage!"

But the most violent proceedings of the enemies of the nonconformists, never damped the ardour of their zeal for the religion of Jesus. They closely followed the sacred injunctions of their God, amid all the menaces, and cruel measures, of their persecutors. The Lord Jesus Christ, and the peculiar doctrines of his gospel, were the firm foundation of the faith of the nonconformists, and the never-failing source of their comfort: and these raised them above the fear of every calamity. They, accordingly, like Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles,

a Hume's Hist. Engl. vol. viii. chap. 69. 1682. p. 173, 174.

b For a full, circumstantial, and well-attested, account of these renowned female-martyrs, who *loved not their lives unto the death*, See Wodrow's Hist. Sufferings Ch. of Scotland, vol. ii. pages 505, 506, & 507. and Crookshank's Hist. vol. ii. chap. xii. and Hume's Hist. as above: and Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. B. ix. p. 145.

cheerfully and patiently suffered the loss of all things, for the sake of truth. The knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus has been faithfully transmitted to the present generation, at a vast expence of worldly loss, labour and suffering. It is justly and beautifully observed; "Surely if we are to form an estimate of the value from the cost, every iota of divine truth is infinitely more valuable than all the wealth of eastern monarchs, more precious than the gold of Ophir, more desirable than all the "treasures hid in the sand." Let us carefully preserve it pure and entire, and transmit it, with lustre undiminished, to the generation following, that so race unto race may declare the works of the Lord, and the children who are yet unborn may arise and praise him." [a] Our zealous and respectable ancestors, who were inspired with the firm resolution of *quitting all* in this world, for truth, will, no doubt, be censured by many, as rash *enthusiasts*, or *lunatics*, rather than considered as sober christians; but we may charitably hope that they are now reaping the *abundant reward;* that their loss is gain, and their contempt glory, Matt. v. 10, 11, 12.[b] The very reproaches of Christ had such a value stamped upon them, in their estimation, that they far surpassed all the treasures of this present world.

Dr Burgess retired, upon his ejection and loss, to his house at Watford, where he lived privately, and was reduced to distress and straits. In all ages, and in different countries, in the present course of human affairs, good and excellent persons have been often exposed to many hardships and sufferings, and bad and vicious men have been in very prosperous circumstances, and have had great affluence of all worldly enjoyments, even to the end of their lives: hence we may fairly argue, the certainty of a future state of existence, in which all such matters shall be candidly and fully adjusted, by the righteous Judge of the universe. There is nothing, in this mode of reasoning, which is not strictly conformable to the sound-

a Christian Magazine, vol. vi. p. 21.
b See Doddridge's Fam. Exposit. vol. i. sect xlv. Improvement.

est principles of reason and of religion.[a] *Son, remember that thou in thy life time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented*, Luke xvi. 25. This sacred text fully corresponds with the remark, and is signally advantageous in corroborating it. Dr Burgess' latter days were embittered with affliction; but we are lame judges of the reasons of God's dispensations. We cannot err in judging, that all events in life are under the wise direction of Divine providence; but when we undertake to assign particular reasons of God's providential dispensations, we may very readily be mistaken. Plato's sentence, which is nearly parallel to the sacred text, Rom. viii. 28. is, "Whether a righteous man be in poverty, sickness, or any other calamity, we must conclude that it will turn to his advantage, either in life, or death."[b] Our author had a very curious collection of the different editions of the book of Common-prayer, which he presented to the public library at Oxford, a few weeks before his death. He died at Watford, in the year 1665; and his mortal remains were buried in the middle of the church of Watford, on the 9th of June that year.[c]

Dr Calamy says, "He was excellently well skilled in the liturgical controversies, and those of church government."[d] Mr Neal says, that he was esteemed a very learned and judicious divine.[e] These eminent writers have certainly given us the true character of Dr Burgess, in few words, here; and more largely in their accounts of him. Though he was reduced to poverty and want, he was not without hope of relief. The gospel of Christ affords hope of relief, under all the calamities of our present state. God in Christ is the well-known refuge of christians; and the gates of this glorious city of refuge

a See Leland's View of Deistical Writers, vol. i. lett. xvii. 5th edit.

b See Plato de Rep. lib. ix. and Doddridge's note on Rom. viii. 28.

c Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 350.

d Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 745.

e Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv.

are always open to the afflicted, Psal. xlvi. 1. And, when the people of God are loaded with reproaches and persecutions, in this world; or even reduced to poverty and meanness, as many of them have been, they are led, under supernatural influence, to consider Him who voluntarily endured reproach and persecution, who lived a life of poverty and want, and who suffered an ignominious death, for them. By a view of this great object, they are supported under all distress, their hearts are comforted, and they forget their sorrows. *Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of their faith; who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right-hand of the throne of God, they run with patience the race that is set before them.* And, though they should be greatly depressed by poverty, or any adversity, at the end of their days in this world, as the subject of this memoir is said to have been, they are not inconsolable, like unbelievers. Believers in the Lord Jesus Christ have no cause to fear, in such circumstances, but rather to *lift up their heads*, with joy and triumph, because then it is, that their *redemption draweth nigh. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.* Such as are made righteous in the sight of God, by the consummate righteousness of Christ imputed to them, shall *shine forth* in the best robe of Christ's righteousness, in the perfect beauties of holiness, and in the shining garments of glory, incorruption, and immortality, *in the kingdom of their Father.* And notwithstanding all their poverty, affliction, and persecution, in this world, they shall in due time break forth out of obscurity, like the sun from behind a dark cloud, into the most glorious light: and they shall be brought also into the full possession of true honour, of durable riches, and of everlasting felicities. *They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb who is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes,* Rev. vii. 16, 17.

It is the great consolation of Christ's faithful followers, who suffer with him; for his sake, and in his cause, that they shall also be glorified together with Christ. And, *the sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in the children of God.* Rom viii. 17, 18. And these will at last much resemble Christ himself, the glorious sun of righteousness, with whom, and in whose glory, they shall eternally appear.

"Should persecution rage and flame,
Still trust in thy Redeemer's name;
In fiery trials thou shalt see,
That as thy days thy strength shall be.
When call'd to bear the weighty cross,
Of sore affliction, pain, or loss,
Or deep distress, or poverty.
Still as thy days thy strength shall be.
When ghastly death appears in view,
Christ's presence shall thy fears subdue,
He comes to set thy spirit free,
And as thy days thy strength shall be."

IGNOT.[a]

God may visit a people with *cleanness of teeth in all their cities, and want of bread in all their places*, and yet in such extreme distress, the believer in Christ may be fully assured, that *he shall dwell on high:* that *his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks: that bread shall be given him;* and that *his water shall be sure.* And, we have decisive evidence, in Dr Burgess' writings, that he had previously been taught to comfort himself, in all his afflictions, with the beautiful and important language of an eminent believer and ancient prophet: *Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet I*

a Christian Magazine, vol. x. p. 260.

will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation. Hab. iii. 17, 18.

THE writings of Cornelius Burgess which have been printed:

1. *A Chain of Graces drawn out at length for a Reformation of Manners. Or, A brief Treatise of Virtue, Knowledge, Temperance, Patience, Godliness, Brotherly kindness, and Charity, so far as they are urged by the Apostle, in* 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 7. London, 1622.

This is a little book; but it contains much. I have perused it, both with great profit, and with much pleasure. Readers who are desirous of acquiring a summary knowledge of this important subject, may reap ample benefit from this small volume, with very little trouble. It is a good pocket-companion for Christians. Several very beautiful Latin citations from the fathers of the church, and from other respectable writers, which increase the value of this interesting treatise, are fairly translated into the English language, or interpreted, by the author. He gratefully dedicated it to the earl of Bedford, and to his religious consort, the lady Lucy, countess of Bedford, in whose family he was sometime a demestic chaplain. It was chiefly intended for the benefit of the people of his own pastoral charge.[a] The author evidently appears to have possessed a mind strongly impressed with a real sense of the truth and importance of religious principles, and to have been earnestly desirous that the knowledge of these should be extensively diffused among mankind, and take fast hold on their minds. He critically examines the original language, gives an accurate and perspicuous description of virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly-kindness, and charity, and subjoins an application, judiciously adapted, to correct and improve the manners of the people. "If the maxim be true, as we firmly believe, that private virtue is the basis

a Epistle Dedicatory.

of public prosperity, no writings can be more useful than those which are honestly designed, and judiciously adapted, to correct and improve the manners of the people."[a]

This little volume is divided into nine chapters, each of which will contribute to the entertainment of a judicious reader. In his third chapter, on virtue, he represents good works as the way to heaven, not the cause of obtaining it, nor of reigning there; as fruits of faith, proving that it is lively; as effects and evidences of our justification by the righteousness of Christ, not contributing to it in the least degree; as testimonies of real gratitude unto God, and of conformity to the image of Christ, *Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.* In his chapter on knowledge, he sincerely laments the dismal condition of all those persons, who are closely shut up in the Pope's dark dungeon of brutal ignorance, without the benefit of the holy scriptures; remaining all their days like heathenish Ninevites, not *knowing the right-hand from the left.* And, he justly observes, that it is highly impious to deny the people of God any means of knowledge, especially the *scriptures*, the *key of knowledge.* In the chapter on temperance, he exposes the beastly sin of intemperance, in a very striking manner; considering those who are guilty of it, as debauched monsters, whose lives are disgraceful to human nature, as the companions of beasts, the objects of God's hatred, and the scum of the world; *raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.* I have seen two copies of this little book in Scotland; one in Wigtonshire, and another in the shire of Renfrew, which wanted the title-page, in the year 1807. In Mr Ogle's Theological catalogue, p. 137. London, 1809, the price of it is marked, 1s. 6d.

2. *New Discovery of Personal Tithes: Or, The Tenth Part of Men's clear gains proved due both in Conscience, and by the laws of this Kingdom.* London,

[a] Monthly Review Enlarged, vol xix. p. 214.

1625. I have sought for this book some years with fruitless inquiry. It is in the catalogue of his writings, in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. 2. p. 348. and in Palmer's Account. The author handles this subject, in "A Case concerning the Lawfulness of Buying Bishops' Lands, p. 8. &c.

3. *The Fire of the Sanctuary newly uncovered; or, A Complete Tract of Zeal.* A little book, 492 pages, London, 1625. It is divided into eight chapters, in which the nature, the objects, the grounds, the ends, and the qualifications of zeal, are particularly unfolded. This work clearly appears to be composed with care and diligence. It well deserves a serious perusal; and will be found highly useful by those who are earnestly engaged in the pursuit of profitable knowledge. It displays a laudable zeal in the author to promote the interests of religion, and the work of reformation: and it justly claims a particular attention from the public. The following remark of the Monthly Reviewers is applicable to this excellent treatise. "Many a valuable tract is elbowed out of notice, and even out of remembrance, by an unceasing succession of new productions; numbers of which, after all, are only old ideas in a new dress. We therefore are disposed to look favourably on any well formed plan for rescuing the good sense and sententious advice of our forefathers, from that unmerited oblivion to which their brevity exposes them."[a] In Mr Marsom's catalogue, p. 147, High-Holborn, London, 1792, the price of this book is marked, *neat*, 1s. 6d. In Mr Ogle's catalogue, p. 68. London, 1802, the price is marked. 1s. 6d. In Mr Ogle's Theological catalogue, p. 136, London, 1809. the price of it is marked, *frontispiece*, 2s. 6d. All the same edition. Beside mine own, I have seen another copy of this book, in the parish of Fenwick, and county of Ayr, in the year 1802.—A good work generally meets with opposition; accordingly, an anonymous pamphlet, entitled *The Whip*, appeared against this excellent tract, *The Fire of the Sanctuary*, 1643, which was answered

a Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. viii. p. 572.

by a Francis Quarles, who highly commends Dr Burgess, in another pamphlet, entitled, *The Whipper Whipt*, 4to. pp. 44. 1644.[a]

4. *Baptismal Regeneration of Elect Infants, professed by the Church of England, according to Scriptures, the primitive Church, the present Reformed Churches, and many particular divines apart.* Small 4to. pp. 347. Oxford, 1629. This treatise is polemical; and replete with close reasoning from the Sacred Writings. The principal point handled is, *That all elect infants who are baptised, do ordinarily receive from Christ in baptisim the Spirit of regeneration, as the soul and first principle of spiritual life, for their first solemn initiation into Christ, and for their future actual renovation, in God's good time, if they live to years of discretion, and enjoy the other ordinary means of Grace appointed by God to this end.* Objections are answered. In aid of his own opinion, he calls in that of many others. —In Mr Ogle's Theological catalogue, p. 23. London, 1809. the price is marked, 2s. 6d.—I have seen two copies of this book in Glasgow; the one in a private library, and the other in the library of the University.

5. *A sermon Preached from Jer.* l. 5. *to The Honourable House of Commons assembled in Parliament, at their Public Fast,* Nov. 17th, 1640. 4to. pp. 80. 3d edit. 56. London, 1641. See some account of this sermon, in the account of the author's life. I have seen it in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanark, in Scotland; and one copy of it belonging to my correspondent at London. Among those, I have seen several copies of the third edition of this sermon, all printed at London, 1641.

6. Another Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, from Psal. lxxvi. 10. 5th Nov. 1641. 4to. pp. 65. London, 1641. In this learned and elaborate sermon the author maintains, that Papists have never been quiet, but continually contriving treasons, ever since the Reformation of Religion. That this practice arises not

a Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 348, 349. and The Whipper Whipt.

from the laws made against them, but their very religion itself leads them unto it. That their *priests* are bound to infuse these principles of their religion into them, and to press the use of them upon all occasions. And that to induce their disciples to swallow those principles, and to act from them when occasion offers, they propound great rewards and glory, and defend and magnify those who have formerly miscarried in them, p. 28.—He says to his respectable auditory, "If you would have *peace with Rome*, *Rome* will have *no peace* with you: and that, to pluck up the hedge of your laws, is to lay all waste, p. 23, 24. The sermon is very suitable for the present time, and contains much useful information on the subject of the Roman Catholic emancipation. He concludes, with warmly exhorting the members of parliament, to use all their influence in promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom; and to call a *free synod of grave ministers* to their assistance.

7. *An Humble Examination of a printed Abstract of the Answers to Nine Reasons of the House of Commons, Against the Votes of Bishops in Parliament.* 4to. pp. 77. London, 1641.

8. *The Broken Title of Episcopal Inheritance. Or, a Discovery of the weak Reply, to the Humble Examination of the Answers to the Nine Reasons of the House of Commons, Against the Votes of Bishops in Parliament, their Lordly Dignity, and Civil Authority.* Dedicated to both Houses of Parliament. 4to. pp. 21. London, 1642. I have seen only one copy of each of these pieces, belonging to my correspondent at London.

9 *Two Sermons Preached from* Jer. iv. 14. *to the Honourable House of Commons, at two Public Fasts;* the one, March 30th, 1642. the other, April 30th, 1645. The former, *opening the necessity and benefit of washing the heart;* the latter, *discovering the vanity and mischief of an heart unwashed.* 4to. 1. pp. 50. 2. pp. 53. London, 1645. I have seen a copy of both these sermons belonging to my correspondent at London.

10. *The Necessity of Agreement with God.* A ser-

mon from Amos iii. 3. preached to the House of Peers, Fast, 29th Oct. 1645. 4to. pp. 51. London, 1645.

11. *Prudent Silence.* A sermon from Amos v. 13. preached in Mercer's-chapel to the Lord-Mayor and Citizens, on Jan. 14th. 1648. London, 1660.

Wood says here, He has other sermons extant, which he had not seen, as one from 2 Chron. xv. 2. another from Ezra x. 23. &c. Nor have I seen these; and therefore I cannot give any account of them. The same author also mentions here, "Sion-College, what it is and doth. A vindication of that society against two pamphlets, &c. Lond. 1648. qu. His case as Lecturer in Paul's—A little pamphlet." But I have not hitherto seen any of these.

12. *No Sacrilege nor Sin to Alien or Purchase the Lands of Bishops, or others, whose offices are abolished.* The second edition, revised and enlarged, London, 1659. A small book. I have seen one copy of this edition, in the library of the presbytery of Dumfries: and another in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Mr Wood says, that there was a third edition of this book, Lond. 1660. 4to, revised and abbreviated for the service of the parliament: with a word by way of Postscript to Dr Pearson and his *No Necessity.*[a]

13. *A Case concerning the Buying of Bishops' Lands, with the Lawfulness thereof.* Small and thin 4to. pp. 80. London, 1659. I have one copy of this book, which is all that I could ever see.

a Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 349.

JOHN WHITE, M. A.

PASTOR OF TRINITY PARISH IN DORCHESTER, IN THE COUNTY OF DORSET, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WEST MINSTER.

JOHN WHITE was born at Stanton, St John, in Oxfordshire, toward the end of December, and was baptized there 6th Jan. 1575, where his father, who was John White also, held a lease from New-College. He was descended from the Whites in Hantshire, in England. He was instructed in grammar-learning, at William of Wickham's school, near the city of Winchester. Many eminent men have been educated in this school, where after a certain time, the scholars have exhibitions to study in the New-College at Oxford, founded by the same benefactory. The ancient and famous University of Oxford has for a long time been an eminent seat of learning, and has been emphatically stiled one of the eyes of England.[a] Here the subject of this memoir studied, in New-College, whereof he was Fellow. After he had served two years of probation, in the year 1595, he took the degrees in Arts, holy orders, and became a frequent preacher in these parts. He left his college, in the year 1606, and probably, about that time, became rector of Trinity parish in Dorchester, in the county of Dorset, in England. His mind being deeply impressed with the great importance of the charge which was committed unto him, he now entered upon the arduous duties of his office, which he most faithfully discharged. He appears to have had very strict and just views of the magnitude and importance of the pastoral care. He was a very diligent minister, and faithful pastor, and left himself but few vacant

a Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. xix. p. 442.

hours for recreation, continually feeding his flock *with knowledge and understanding*. In the course of his ministry he expounded the holy scriptures all over, and half over again; having an excellent faculty in the clear and solid interpretation of them. Dr Manton considers him as excelling in a solid exposition of the text, and deducing pertinent observations, with proper reasons; and for proof hereof, refers the reader to Mr White's commentary upon the three first chapters of Genesis.[a] The knowledge of the holy scriptures is the proper entertainment of immortal souls, as material objects are of the external senses. And by his judicious exposition of the scriptures, and preaching from them, he carefully instructed the people committed to his care, and faithfully administered to them the genuine food of their souls: *the sincere milk of the word, that they might grow thereby*.

Mr White's settlement in Dorchester afforded him an opportunity of doing much good, under God. What is said respecting the celebrated Bernard Gilpin, when his situation afforded him an opportunity of doing much good, may be very justly applied to Mr White. "This object engrossed all his attention, and stimulated every exertion. It concentrated all his views, desires and aims; and it terminated all his prospects. From this point, a circle of benevolent actions diffused themselves, wherever want was an inhabitant, wherever ability could relieve, or influence avail." [b] His exertions were many, and his activity great, for the good of mankind, especially the inhabitants of Dorchester; and by the blessing of God on his labours, they were crowned with success. When he laboured with unwearied diligence, the Lord wonderfully opened a door to him for great usefulness in this place. And in him, the most amiable and exemplary picture of real christianity was clearly seen. Dr Fuller says, that he was "A good governor, by whose wisdom the town of Dorchester was much enriched, knowledge causing piety, piety breeding industry, and industry procuring

a Manton's Pref. Comment. Gen.
b Christian Magazine, vol. vi. p. 22.

plenty unto it. A beggar was not then to be seen in the town, all able poor being set on work, and the impotent maintained by the profit of a public brew-house, and other collections." [a] Religion and industry greatly flourished under his influence, and derived a commanding authority from his laudable and pious example. Like Pertinax, the virtuous Roman emperor, he considered œconomy and industry as the pure and genuine sources of wealth; and from them, under the blessing of God, a copious supply for the public necessities was soon derived.[b] They who wander about in idleness, are a burthen to themselves, and a nuisance to society.

> " Health and wealth from honest labour spring;
> Th' industrious peasant's happier than a king!"

Mr White seems to have suggested plans for the improvement of the condition of the poor, and heartily concurred with others in the execution of them. And suggesting plans for the benefit of the poor, certainly manifests a very humane and feeling heart. " There is perhaps no problem in the important and intricate science of political œconomy, more difficult than that which regards the employment and support of the poor; and there is certainly none more interesting, whether we consider it in the view of humanity as connected with the advantage of our suffering fellow-creatures,—or in that of policy as it materially affects our hopes of lightening the burdens, increasing the industry and wealth, and even preserving the quiet, of the country." [c] To provide for the helpless poor, and to compel the idle to work, have been the general objects of all systems of poor laws:—but to have supported helplessness without encouraging idleness seems to have too generally surpassed the skill of human policy.[d]

Dr Fuller farther observes, respecting the illustrious

a Fuller's Worthies of England.
b Gibbon's Hist. Rom. Emp. vol. i. chap. iv.
c Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. xix. p. 459.
d See The Monthly Review, as above.

subject of this memoir, that " he absolutely commanded his own passions, and the purses of his parishioners. whom he could wind up to whatever height he pleased on important occasions. He was free from covetousness, if not trespassing on the contrary." [a] In this amiable character, the disposition of doing good to others shewed itself superior to interest, and a public spirit clearly appeared. He diligently instructed his own parishioners in the doctrines and duties of the christian religion, and was eminently useful in reforming their manners, and in preserving good order among the inhabitants of Dorchester.[b] He was commonly called, *Patriarch of Dorchester*, or Patriarch White. And Dr Fuller says, that he had a Patriarchal influence both in Old and New England.

At the beginning of the Long Parliament, when many good subjects and true patriots appeared for the rights of their country, and for the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, he associated with them. And, his wise counsels, shining example, great influence, and distinguished abilities, greatly contributed to promote the cause of truth, and the interests of the christian religion. But when prince Rupert was in those parts, and the proceedings were known, a party of his horse went to Dorchester, plundered Mr White's house, and took away his library. The great apostle of the Gentiles, for the sake of truth and of the christian religion, suffered the loss of all things. This eminent servant of the church, like Paul, suffered the loss of ease and of property, and endured many hardships, *as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. He took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, knowing that he had in heaven a better and an enduring substance:* and retiring to London, he was appointed to be minister of Savoy parish, for sometime. In the year 1643, he was chosen to be one of the venerable Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and one of the Assessors.[c] He was very highly esteemed in that Assembly. Wood says, he

a Fuller's Worthies of England.
b Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 115.
c See Life of Dr Burgess.

" took the *covenant*, and sitting often with them at *Westminster*, shewed himself one of the most learned and moderate among them, and soon after did by order not only succeed Dr Featley in the rectory of Lambeth in Surrey, ejected thence, but had his library conferred on him to keep and enjoy it till such time as Dr Featley could get back our author's from the soldiers under prince Rupert."[a] When both Houses of Parliament, with the Scottish Commissioners, and Assembly of Divines, convened in Margaret's church, Westminster, on the 25th of Sept. 1643 to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, for 'reformation, and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Mr White opened the great solemnity with prayer. After him, Messrs Henderson and Nye spake in justification of taking the covenant from scripture-precedents, and shewed the advantage which the church had received from such sacred associations. Mr Henderson spake again, and declared, that the States of Scotland had resolved to assist the English parliament in carrying on the designs of this covenant. Upon this Mr Nye read it from the pulpit with an audible voice, article by article, each person standing uncovered, with his right-hand bare and lifted up to Heaven, worshipping the great and glorious Name of Almighty God, and solemnly swearing to pay his vows. Dr Gouge concluded this solemnity with prayer; after which the House of Commons went up into the chancel and subscribed their names in one roll of parchment, and the Assembly in another, in both which the covenant was fairly transcribed.[b] Mr White subscribed the proposition in the Assembly, when the learned Lightfoot entered his dissent, that " Jesus Christ, as King of the church, hath himself appointed a church-government distinct from the civil magistrate." [c] He uni-

a Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 115. See also, p. 679.

b Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. 8vo. chap. ii. Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 424.

c Neal's Hist. vol. iii. chap. vii.

formly acted a benevolent and useful part to mankind, especially to the church of Christ; and persevered unweariedly in doing good. He truly lived for the benefit of his country, and hath afforded a shining example, which well deserves to be transmitted unto posterity: and his memory ought to be highly esteemed by us. We are informed, that the ancients held in equal estimation the memory of those worthies who had lived and those who had died for their country. They universally confessed, that they deserved at least the respect of all mankind.[a]

He married the sister of Dr Burgess, by whom he had four sons, who were left behind him.

Dr Fuller says, that he was "a grave man, yet without moroseness, who would willingly contribute his shot of facetiousness on any just occasion." Mr Wood says, "He was a person of great gravity and presence, and had always influence on the puritanical party near to, and remote from, him, who bore him more respect than they did to their diocesan."

When the commotions of the nation ceased, and his work was terminated at London, he returned to Dorchester; and in Nov. 1647, was designed warden of New-College, upon the death of Dr Pink, by Lord Say, and his son; but Mr Wood supposes, that he refused that office, which is very probable. Being old and full of days, *After he had served his own generation, by the will of God, he fell asleep*, on the 21st of July, 1648. And his remains were interred in the church-porch of St Peter in Dorchester, which is a chapel belonging to Trinity-church.[b] And *those who sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.* Death is most beautifully expressed in the holy scriptures by *falling asleep*, and is thus elegantly applied to mankind, in distinction from the beasts that perish, especially to those who die in the Lord, relative to the blessed hope of a glorious resurrection: for *sleeping* evidently

a Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. xix. p. 355. Gibbon's Hist. Rom. Emp. vol. i. chap. ii.

b Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 114, 115, 116. Fuller's Worthies of England, fol. 1662.

implies *awaking out of sleep.* See Dan. xii. 2. Acts xiii. 36. 1 Thess. iv. 14. Agreeably to this, the burying-places, especially those wherein the bodies of the saints are laid, may properly be called *sleeping places*, or places designed for *rest* and *sleep*, until the glorious morning of the *resurrection of the dead body.* "The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory; and their bodies being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves, till the resurrection."

I am sorry that I have not been able to obtain more materials, respecting the life and death of this eminent servant of Jesus Christ.

I now proceed to give an account of his printed writings which I have seen and read.

1. *The Troubles of Jerusalem's Restoration: Or, The Church's Reformation.* A sermon from Dan. ix. 25. before the House of Lords, in the Abbey church, Westminster, 26th Nov. 1645. 4to. pp. 62. London, 1646.

2. *Way to the Tree of Life: Or, Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Scriptures; wherein is Described occasionally the Nature of a Spiritual Man: and, in a Digression, the Morality and Perpetuity of the Fourth Commandment, in every circumstance thereof, is Discovered and Cleared.*

3. *A sermon* preached from Psal. lxxxii. 6. at Dorchester, in the county of Dorset, at the General Assizes, 7th of March, 1632. 4to. pp. 31. London, 1648.

4. *A Commentary upon the Three first chapters of the Book of Genesis.* Small folio, London, 1656.

JOHN ARROWSMITH, D. D.

A MEMBER OF THE VENERABLE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER, MASTER BOTH OF ST JOHN'S, AND OF TRINITY-COLLEGE, SUCCESSIVELY, AND ROYAL OR PUBLIC PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

JOHN ARROWSMITH was born near Newcastle upon Tyne, in the county of Northumberland, in England, on the 29th day of March, in the year 1602. It is remarkable, that this eminent divine was born in the same year, on the same day, and almost even at the same hour, with that much celebrated English divine, Dr John Lightfoot [a] Divine providence raised up most seasonably many very eminent men, about this time, who were great ornaments to the Reformed Church; and who have acquired immortal fame by their valuable writings, and have carefully transmitted their great usefulness to succeeding generations, in their learned and pious productions.

Respecting the early life and education of the illustrious subject of this memoir, I have not been able to procure any particular account: but it is evident by his writings and employments, that he had been highly favoured with a well directed and liberal education. He was sometime preacher of the gospel at Lynn, or King's-Lynn, an ancient sea-port town, in the county of Norfolk. From that place, he was called to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.[b] Here he was eminently distinguished by his abilities, learning, and piety. Mr Robert

a Lightfoot's Life, prefixed to the folio edit. of his Works, 1684, and 1686.

b See Neal's List of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, Hist. Purit. vol. iii. chap. ii.

Baillie, one of the commissioners from the Church of Scotland, to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, says, when writing for Scotland respecting the business of that Assembly: "Our letter to foreign churches, formed by Mr Marshall, except some clauses belonging to us put in by Mr Henderson, is now turned into Latin by Mr Arrowsmith, a man with a glass eye, in place of that which was put out by an arrow, a learned divine, on whom the Assembly put the writing against the Antinomians."[a]

While the Reformation was advancing, several improvements were requisite, highly deserving the attention of our reformers, to render the English Universities more capable of answering the noble ends of their institution. Disgraceful charges were brought against these useful seminaries of learning: and our zealous ancestors consulted both the honour and interest of these venerable foundations, by endeavouring to amend what was amiss in them. Laudable attempts were made to restore the credit of their *Alma Mater*. Learning and piety were now the chief recommendations for offices. Accordingly, the utmost exertions were made, that all departments might be supplied with learned and pious men. The famous Earl of Manchester was appointed to visit the University of Cambridge, in order that he might correct what was wrong in it. Among other things, he ejected some heads of Colleges, and made choice of some divines who were then sitting in the Assembly at Westminster, to be masters in their places; among whom was the illustrious subject of this memoir. Mr Baillie, abovementioned, who was then at Westminster, says, "When we were going to the rest of the propositions concerning the Presbytery, my Lord Manchester wrote to us from Cambridge, what he had done in the University, how he had ejected for gross scandals, the heads of five Colleges;—and that he had made choice of five of our number, to be Masters in their places, Mr Palmer, Vines, Seaman, Arrowsmith, and our countryman, Young, requiring the Assembly's approbation of his choice; which

[a] Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 414.

was unaminously given; for they are all very good and able divines." [a] Agreeably to this account, Mr Arrowsmith, having been first examined, and approved, by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was constituted master of St John's College, in the University of Cambridge, in the year 1644.[b] By what our reformers did in this affair, they certainly made both the public in general, and the University in particular, their debtors; however little they might both be disposed to acknowledge the obligation. This reformation attracted much notice; and was warmly praised by some persons, and as violently censured by others.[c] Mr Neal says, "The Lord's-day was observed with uncommon rigour; there were sermons and prayers in all the churches and chapels both morning and afternoon. Vice and profaneness were banished, insomuch, that an oath was not to be heard within the walls of the University; and if it may be said without offence, the Colleges never appeared more like nurseries of religion and virtue than at this time." The same author adds, "I have before me the names of fifty-five persons, who, after they had been examined by the Assembly, were put into vacant fellowships in the compass of the year 1644, and within six months more all the vacancies were in a manner supplied, with men of approved learning and piety. From this time, the University of Cambridge enjoyed a happy tranquillity, learning revived, religion and good manners were improved, at a time when the rest of the nation was in blood and confusion. And though this alteration was effected by a mixture of the civil and military power, yet in a little time things reverted to their former channel, and the statutes of the University were as regularly observed as ever." [d]

When our author was promoted to be Master of St John's College, one of the *schools of the prophets*, and a principal *seminary* of divines, he conscientiously dis-

a Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 439.

b Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. chap. iii.

c See Walker's Attempt, Part i. respecting the Regulation of the University of Cambridge.

d Neal's Hist. as above, where more may be found on the subject.

charged the duties of his office; and pursued his studies and researches, with the most unceasing assiduity. While he had no other public employment, he delivered catechetical lectures in that chapel on the evenings of the Lord's-day, laying a good foundation of the doctrine of Christ, like a wise master-builder. As *Elisha*, when he came to *Jericho*, casting salt into the spring of water, for the preservation, and health of all those persons who were in the place, he used his best endeavours to supply what was wanting, and to correct what was amiss. He explained the genuine sources of religious knowledge, in a most judicious and prudent manner, in order to promote a spirit of practical piety, and vital religion, in the hearts of his hearers, and especially of the candidates for the holy ministry. And he was peculiarly attentive to the advancement of solid and useful learning in his College. Solid learning and true piety were most intimately connected in himself; and they were so connected in all his instructions unto others. They ought always to go hand in hand, in the public teachers of Christianity.— When master of this College, he began to apply himself, with eminent success, to that most elaborate and truly excellent work, *A Chain of Principles.* This most beautiful and very important chain of theological principles was designed to form a complete *Body of Divinity* in *thirty* distinct *Aphorisms*, with their respective *Exercitations.* And the laborious author intended to have prepared these learned and pious productions for the press, if the Lord had spared and afforded him health: but sickness and death put an end to his labours, when he had finished only these six Aphorisms, with their respective Exercitations, which have been published to the world, and are entitled, "A Chain of Principles." [a]

Our illustrious author was removed to be Master of Trinity-College, in the University of Cambridge, which Wood says, is the best preferment in that University.[b] He was also constituted Professor of divinity, in this fa-

a Preface to the *Chain*, by Messrs Horton, and Dillingham.
b Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 505.

mous University. In a situation so peculiarly agreeable to the views and habits of a scholar and of a divine, he eminently displayed his ardent zeal and great fidelity in the honourable service of his great Master. And the infinitely wise and sovereign Disposer of all things certainly regarded the University of Cambridge with peculiar favour, when he placed this learned and pious divine, in such eminent stations there, where he was made the instrument of great usefulness. It was an observation of Tacitus, that advancement rarely mended the disposition of the human mind; only Vespasian was changed into the better. And Evagrius gives it as the high praise of the Emperor Mauritius, that in the height of all his majesty, he retained his ancient piety. It may be considered, by good information, as the high praise of the subject of this memoir, as he was seemingly the subject of the unsearchable riches of divine grace, that in the height of all his preferments, he retained his former piety; and even improved greatly in literature, and in the disposition of his mind. There is growth both in knowledge and in grace.

He was a very eminent and useful preacher of the glorious gospel of the grace of God. There is one remarkable instance of this transmitted to posterity, respecting Mr John Machin, of Jesus' College, Cambridge. Mr Machin was born at Seabridge in Staffordshire, Oct. 2d. 1624. He spent his youth in vanity and sin. When about twenty-one years of age, he went to the University, without any view to the holy ministry, or to a continuance there. But God was pleased, on his first going thither, to effect a gracious change in him, chiefly by the preaching of *Dr Hill;* and that of *Dr Arrowsmith* was much to his comfort and edification. No sooner did he find this blessed change in his heart, than his friends found it by his letters; by which, together with his exemplary conversation afterward, he is said to have been the instrument of converting his three sisters, and there was room to hope, both his parents.[a]

Dr Arrowsmith was also reckoned an eminently

a Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, under Whitley, in Cheshire.

learned and highly useful professor of divinity. He was truly *a burning and a shining light*, able to distinguish truth from error, and pure worship from superstitious devices. He was an enlightened leader, and careful instructor of others. He was well qualified to write and discourse upon theological subjects with precision, elegance, ease, and perspicuity. By his great ingenuity and erudition, he was enabled to throw light on many difficult passages of the sacred writings that had been ill understood, and not well applied. Great dexterity, good judgment, profound and admirable learning, and true piety, were very conspicuous, both in his ministry, and in the divinity-chair. He acquired a distinguished reputation in the University, by his excellent wit, amiable manners, singular prudence and plainness. His wit and erudition, being sanctified by the grace of God, were successfully employed by him, as weapons against the adversaries of truth and of religion.

He continued to labour with indefatigable zeal in his Master's service, until he was seized with a lingering sickness, terminating in death, which prevented the completion of his noble designs.[a] I have not been able to obtain any information respecting the manner of the death of this eminent divine; and I must stop short where my information fails me. Respecting the time of his death, Mr Neal says, that he died before the restoration; which exactly agrees with what Wood says, That the headship of Trinity-College in Cambridge was conferred upon Dr John Wilkins, upon the death of Dr John Arrowsmith, in the beginning of 1659.[b]

I shall here avail myself of four lines of a little poem of Mr Smart, on the death of a Mr Newbury, after a lingering illness, which are appropriate.

> "Henceforth be every tender tear suppress,
> Or let us weep for joy that he is blest;

a See Prefaces to his Chain, and God-man.

b Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 505. and title-page of Arrowsmith's Chain.

From grief to bliss, from earth to heav'n remov'd,
His memory honour'd, as his life belov'd." [a]

Mr Neal says, " Dr John Arrowsmith was of an unexceptionable character for learning and piety. He was an acute disputant, and a judicious divine, as appears by his *Tactica Sacra*, a book of great reputation in those times." [b] He was undoubtedly a real friend to true religion, and has transmitted to posterity a shining example of piety and diligence in his Master's service. And his name ought to be in the list of the eminent divines and men of learning, who were real ornaments to the Reformed Church in the seventeenth century.

Dr Arrowsmith is a writer of distinguished excellence. He may be justly numbered among the benefactors of English literature. In his writings, we clearly see the beautiful image of a mind which was truly judicious and serious; richly furnished and adorned with the comely ornaments both of learning and of piety. His writings are;

1. *The Covenant-Avenging Sword Brandished.* A sermon preached from Lev. xxvi. 25. before the House of Commons, at their solemn fast, Jan. 25th, 1642. 4to. pp. 28. London, 1643. This sermon was also printed at Dumfries, 1797. I have now a few copies unsold, price 3*d*.

2. *England's Ebenezer:* or, *Stone of Help.* A sermon preached from 1 Sam. vii. 12. to both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, being present, on a day of solemn thanksgiving, March 12th, 1644. 4to. pp. 34. London, 1645.

3. *A Great Wonder in Heaven:* or, *A Lively Picture of the Militant Church, drawn by a Divine Pencil.* A sermon preached from Rev. xii. 1, 2. before the Com-

a Monthly Review Enlarged, Jan. 1792. vol. vii.
b Hist. Purit. vol. iii. 1644.

mons, at Westminster, fast, Jan. 27th, 1647. 4to. London, 1647.

4. Tactica Sacra, sive de milite Spirituali Pugnante, Vincente, & Triumphante, Dissertatio, Tribus Libris comprehensa. 4to. pp. 363. Cantabrigiæ, 1657.

This learned dissertation, which is divided into three books, respecting the spiritual soldier fighting, conquering, and triumphing, well deserves the perusal of the scholar, who can read Latin.

5. *A Chain of Principles:* or, *An orderly Concatenation of Theological Aphorisms and Exercitations; wherein the Chief Heads of Christian Religion are asserted and improved.* 4to. pp. 490. Cambridge, 1659.

This is a book of real worth; and it is strange that it has not been oftener printed. It will amply repay the trouble of a perusal. It occurs still in the catalogues of books, especially in London. It was formerly cheap, 3 or 4*s.* but now 7*s.* 6*d.* I have seen it in several parts of Scotland, where it is an ornament to many good libraries.

6. *God-Man.* An exposition of the first eighteen verses of the first chapter of the gospel according to John. 4to. pp. 311. London, 1660. Sells now in London at 7*s.* 6*d.*

Dr Cotton Mather, in his Student and Preacher, says, "Every thing of an Arrowsmith is admirable." "The names of Lightfoot, Selden, Gataker, Greenhill, Arrowsmith, Twisse, Bishop Reynolds, Wallis, &c. will always be famous in the learned world." [a]

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. chap. x.

SIMEON ASHE,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN LONDON, AND A MEMBER OF THE VENERABLE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

SIMEON ASH, or ASHE, was educated in Emmanuel College, in the University of Cambridge. As several eminent Puritans received their education in this College, the following remark respecting it is, perhaps, worthy of our notice. When Sir Walter Mildmay came to court after he had founded this College, Queen Elizabeth said to him; "Sir Walter, I hear that you have erected a Puritan foundation. No, Madam, said he, far be it from me to countenance any thing contrary to your established laws; but I have set an *acorn*, which, when it becomes an *oak*, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof." [a]

Biography is most pleasingly instructive and profitable, when it's lessons are given from the examples of those persons who are truly and eminently good; or who have been so, in faithfully serving their own generation. We pass from one event of the lives of those amiable characters to another, with much delight and advantage. Such is the example here before us.

Mr Ashe began his ministry, in preaching the glorious gospel of the grace of God, in Staffordshire, in England, in the neighbourhood of those eminent persons, Mr John Ball, Mr Robert Nicolls, and Mr Langley, with whom he cultivated a particular acquaintance. "*Like loves like.*" And religion greatly improves and refines the social principle of our nature. *Then they who feared the Lord spake often one to another.* The love of God shed

a Fuller's Hist. University of Cambridge, Sect. vii. p. 147.

abroad in the heart, by the Holy Ghost, plainly shews itself, by loving the brethren, and seeking communion with them. And when two or more pious persons meet and converse, they communicate light, experience, and warmth of affection, to each other; and greatly animate each other in the christian race. And our Saviour has graciously promised that *where two or three are gathered together in his name, he will be in the midst of them.* And when he sent forth his apostles, he sent them by *two and two*, in company, that they might mutually encourage and assist each other in their arduous work. The pious subject of this memoir enjoyed much sweet intercourse with his religious brethren, at this time: but he was soon displaced from his living, for not conforming to the ceremonies of the church, and for refusing to read the Book of Sports. The most profitable preferments in the church of England were given to such as were most forward in promoting the new ceremonies and superstitions. New holy-days were introduced, and required to be observed with all possible solemnity, at the same time that the people were encouraged to profane the Lord's-day by a declaration commonly called "The Book of Sports," printed and published by the king's special command. [a] This was first published by King James, dated, Greenwich, May 24th, 1618, as follows: "That for his good people's lawful recreations, his Majesty's pleasure was, that after the end of divine service, they should not be disturbed, letted, nor discouraged from any lawful recreations; such as dancing, either of men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor from having of May-games, Whitson-ales, or Morrice-dances, and setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment of divine service: and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decoration of it, according to their old custom; withal prohibiting all unlawful games to be used

a Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 5. Hume's Hist. England, vol. vi. chap. xlvii. and Rapine's Hist. England, fol. vol. ii. B. xviii.

on Sundays only, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, and at all times (in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited) bowling."

This declaration was ordered to be read in all the parish churches of Lancashire, a maritime county, in the north-west part of England. Dr Fuller well observes, that when this declaration was brought abroad, "It is not so hard to believe, as sad to recount what grief and distraction thereby was occasioned, in many honest men's hearts, who looked on it, not as local for Lancashire, but what in process of time would enlarge itself all over England, as it did in the reign of Charles I. in the year 1633." Charles, having fully imbibed his father's principles, now revived, enlarged, and keenly urged, his father's declaration. It was to be published in all parish churches, but whether by the minister, or any other person, was left to the direction of the bishop; and therefore putting this hardship on the clergy was the deed of the bishops. And Laud, who was now at the helm, knew well, that the reading of this most impious declaration would greatly distress the Puritans, and free the church from a set of men, to whom he was extremely averse. Many poor clergymen strained their consciences to read it. Some, when they had read it, immediately read the fourth commandment to the people;—adding, "This is the law of God; the other, the injunction of man." Some put it upon their curates; but a great number refused to read it upon any terms; and among these last was Mr Ashe. He had many companions in this tribulation. Many of the most eminently godly ministers were also driven from their places, excommunicated, persecuted in the high-commission court, and some of them forced to leave the kingdom, for not publishing this declaration. They suffered much "for not daring to tell their people, that they might *lawfully* profane the Sabbath by gambols and sports; and to publish from their pulpits the *permission* of the King to break the command of God." [a] And Dr Fuller says, that it is questionable, whether their

[a] Towgood's Dissent, Let. ii.

sufferings procured more pity to them, or more hatred to the causers thereof.[a]

The reasons of those who refused to read the Book of Sports were enforced in the following manner. 1. That the publication of this declaration would be interpretatively an approbation thereof, whereas on the contrary they are commanded, *to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather to reprove them*, Eph. v. 11. 2. That hereby they would draw a just woe upon themselves, pronounced by the prophet of the Lord, *Woe unto them who decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed*, Isai. x. 1. 3. That the promulgation of a law is a necessary part of it, as persons would neither take notice of this declaration, nor liberty by it, until it were published; and so the publisher should himself become a promoter of sin. 4. That obedience to authority obligeth only in *things lawful and honest.* And the apostle acknowledges, That he himself had power only to edification, and not to destruction, 2 Cor. xiii. 10. whereunto the publication of this declaration did manifestly tend.[b]

The Lord, who hath prepared his throne in the heavens, and whose kingdom ruleth over all, afforded necessary support and help to Mr Ashe, under all his sufferings and temptations. In the goodness of Divine providence, after sometime he obtained a little liberty to preach in an exempt church at Wroxhall, under the protection of Sir John Burgoyne, and elsewhere, under the Lord Brook, in Warwickshire. He was chaplain to the Lord Brook; and upon the breaking out of the civil war, he became chaplain to the Earl of Manchester, and had a considerable part in the Cambridge-visitation.[c] He was at the battle of Edge-hill, which first effectually brake the peace between the King and the Parliament, and was fought on the Lord's-day, 23d of October, 1642. The army belonging to the Parliament, in which Mr Ashe was, under

a Fuller's Church-Hist. of Britain, Cent. xvii. B. x. & xi. Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. ii. & v.

b Fuller's Hist. B. x. 1618.

c Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 638. Neal's Hist. vol. iv.

the Earl of Essex, designed to rest and observe the Sabbath in Kineton, a small market-town, about three miles from Edge-hill. But in the morning, when the soldiers were going to the church, the news came that the King's army was approaching; and they were, therefore, obliged to go to Edge-hill and fight them. And though Mr Ashe, and other eminent divines, who were chaplains to the army, were much exposed to danger; yet none of them were slain, hurt, or taken prisoners.[a]

Mr Ashe was chosen to be a member of the venerable Assembly of divines at Westminster; and in the list of the Assembly of divines, in Mr Neal's History, he is marked as giving constant attendance there.

He was minister of Michael Basing-shaw, London, and afterward of St Austin's, in London, where he died.[b] He was one of the Cornhill Lecturers. And one of those who subscribed a paper, entitled, *A Vindication of the Ministers of the gospel in, and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the parliament, as if they had promoted the King's death.*[c] After the King's death, he vigorously opposed the new commonwealth, under Oliver Cromwell, as established without King and House of Lords, and publicly declaimed against the engagement. He had a considerable hand in bringing in King Charles II.

Dr Walker, among other charges which he brings against him, severely censures him for a sermon, from Psal. ix. 9. before the House of Commons in 1642, as containing large invectives against the government and governors of the church.[d] This author seldom fails to dip his pen in the *very* gall of bitterness, when he meets with the Puritans. But Dr Calamy, upon perusing the sermon, says, that he found it to be a very grave and serious discourse, no way unbecoming either the preacher, or the auditory.[e] Among many sad grievances, Mr

a Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 191, 200.
b Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 638.
c See Dr Burgess's Life, and Calamy's Cont. p. 743.
d Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 48.
e Calamy's Cont. vol. i. p. 2.

Ashe mentions, in this sermon, *subscription* urged upon all *graduates* in both Universities, and upon all men entering into the ministry, as an heavy oppression, driving some promising persons from theological studies, and thoughts of the ministry, and ensnaring the consciences of others;—pressing ceremonies in divine administrations, upon pain of suspension, silencing, deprivation, and excommunication, whereby ministers and their families were exposed to great hardships, congregations deprived of their pastors, and many forced to leave the kingdom;—conniving at a scandalous ministry;—the great abuse of oaths, particularly that of matriculation;—the abuse of church-censures;—and making opposition to the *power of godliness*, by deriding and persecuting those who were forward in it.[a] The charges were heavy, but evidently true; and, therefore, Mr Ashe was blameless. If they are accounted too severe, let this severity be imputed to the authors of these evils, and not to Mr Ashe, who faithfully testified against them, as an honest servant of Jesus Christ. As Luther said, when writing against King Henry VIII. "Should King Henry think that he is treated with more sharpness and severity than is becoming, let him impute it, not to me, but to himself." Massillon well observes, "The righteous man can with boldness condemn in others, that which he disallows in himself; his instructions do not put his conduct to the blush." Mr Ashe eminently distinguished himself, by the ardour of his zeal, and by the faithfulness of his ministry, on this remarkable occasion. Many of the princes and people of Judah, doubtless, would readily think, that the sentiments of Hananiah, the false prophet, who *taught rebellion against the Lord*, prophesying smooth things respecting them, were much more agreeable to their mind, and much more liberal in their nature, than the heavy tidings of Jeremiah; and yet true zeal and faithfulness were only found in Jeremiah.[b]—"They are only minds indifferent about religion, who, colouring their

a See Calamy's Cont. vol. i. p. 2, 3.
b See Jer. xxviii.

secret impiety with a false moderation, dare to censure the indignation of a servant of God in such a conjuncture." [a]

Other charges, seemingly without foundation, are brought against Mr Ashe, by Dr Walker.[b] These are largely and judiciously refuted by Dr Calamy.[c] "Every man ought to endeavour at eminence, not by pulling others down, but by raising himself, and enjoy the pleasure of his own superiority, whether imaginary or real, without interrupting others in the same felicity." [d] "Only to insist on men's faults, to render them odious, is no ingenious employment." [e] The general conduct of our pious reformers, notwithstanding the foul calumnies with which they have been loaded, may court inquiry, and bid defiance to censure.

"When defamation blasts our name,
And envy withers at our fame,
Our Jesus is a friend:
When he approves, and conscience smiles,
Both Satan's rage, and world's turmoils,
We to the tempest lend."

Mr Ashe had a good estate, and a liberal heart. He was very hospitable; and his house was much frequented, and he himself was highly esteemed. He was a christian of the primitive simplicity; and a non-conformist of the old stamp. He was eminently distinguished, by a holy life, and a cheerful mind. Holiness is the bright ornament of the Christian, the glory of angels, the beauty of heaven, and the express image of God himself, who is *glorious in holiness*. And persons who are most strict and holy in their lives ought to be most esteemed and

a Beausobre's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. B. i. 1518. respecting Luther.

b Walker's Attempt, p. 113, 114.

c Calamy's Contin. vol. i. p. 4, and 5. See also Dr Fuller's Hist. Univ. Cambridge, p. 168.

d Rambler, Numb. ix.

e Fuller's Church-Hist. Cent. xvii. p. 26.

honoured. But such persons are too often hated, reproached, and persecuted, by the world lying in wickedness, who scoff at holiness, and thereby deride God himself. Holiness is peculiarly becoming, in the ministers of religion, who *minister about holy things*, and ought to be exemplary to the people, in their lives.—And Mr Henry Grove considered cheerfulness of temper, as a kind of habitual gratitude to God, and a proper acknowledgement of his infinite goodness. And while Mr Grove readily paid this just tribute himself, he greatly encouraged all around to concur with him therein.[a] Cheerfulness is, undoubtedly, a distinguishing feature of the Christian religion.[b] One joyful countenance spreads cheerfulness among many. And a friend, at once cheerful and religious, is a great acquisition. He greatly contributes to enliven the exercises of social piety. Mr Calamy, who preached a sermon on the occasion of Mr Ashe's death, represents him as a man of great sincerity, humility, benevolence, prudence, and patience: as eminently diligent in preaching the glorious gospel of the grace of God in season and out of season, so as not to please the ear, but to wound the heart; seeking not the applause of men, but the salvation of souls: as singularly careful in visiting the sick: as excelling in prayer, and in maintaining great acquaintance and communion with God. His death was conformable to his life. He was rich in faith, and in other fruits of the Holy Spirit, and an eminent follower of those who through *faith* and *patience* inherit the promises. He died very comfortably, in the cheerful exercise of faith, and abounding in the consolations of the gospel of Christ, molested neither with doubts nor fears. His conversation was deeply interesting, and very edifying. Like the torch, he illuminated all around him. He did eminently bear witness to the truth and the power of the Christian religion, at this trying season. And he was peculiarly attentive to the spiritual improvement of those who were about him. He warmly recommended Jesus Christ to

a General Biogr. vol. iv. London 1803. under Grove.
b See Matth. v. 12. Phil. iii. 1, 3. iv. 4.

them. This is the last time that we can do any thing for our generation, and it ought to be diligently improved. Dying words are impressive; and those of Mr Ashe deserve our most attentive consideration.

Mr Calamy says, "When I was with him he took occasion to complain much, and not without just cause, that ministers, when they met together, discoursed not more of Christ, of heaven, and of the concernments of the other world; professing that if God should restore him, he would be more careful in his discourses, and more fruitful than ever he had been. He exhorted me and other ministers to preach much of Jesus Christ, and to speak of Christ to him; saying, *When I consider my best duties, I sink, I die, I despair; but when I think of Christ, I have enough; he is all and in all. I desire to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified. I account all things dung and dross, that I may be found in Christ.*" [a] Remarkable to this purpose, and in similar circumstances, are the words of Ernest, duke of Saxony, a prince whose memory should not be buried in oblivion; and who died, in the year 1513. In his sickness, the cordeliers came to visit him, and to offer him the merits of their order to secure and hasten his recovery. The wise prince replied, "I have nothing to do either with your works or your merits: they are of no value in the sight of God. There is nothing but the righteousness of my Lord and of my Saviour, that can be of any service to me." [b] *Surely, shall one say, In the Lord have I righteousness and strength: even to Him shall men come; and all who are incensed against him shall be ashamed. In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory*, Isai. xlv. 24, 25. *For he hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the Righteousness of God in him*, 2 Cor. v. 21. When the celebrated reformer, Luther, had obtained clear views of justification through the imputed righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, apprehended, received, and relied

a Calamy's Fun. Ser. See Phil. iii. 7—10.
b Beausobre's Hist. Reformation, B. i. 1517.

upon, by faith without works, he wrote to a friend of his, in the year 1516, as follows: "I should be glad to know what you think, and whether your soul, at last disgusted with its own righteousness, has learned to place its confidence in Jesus Christ alone, and in his righteousness." [a] This subject is deeply interesting both to an immortal soul, and to the cause of Christianity. I cannot refrain here from transcribing a few sentences of a truly valuable letter of the Rev. John Hill of London, known by a volume of Evangelical discourses. "My dear friend, London, Dec. 1744, from my bed. I have been under a very dangerous fit of sickness; yet one lesson I have learned by this affliction, which I never knew before so perfectly, I am sure not so feelingly, that is, the need and efficacy, and infinite merit and conscience-pacifying virtue, of the blood of Christ. When death and judgment appear in view, and the soul has not one good work he can call *his own*, were he sure he might plead it at God's bar, what must that soul do upon the edge of an eternal world, when he has not one good work he can call his own? whom the law charges with guilt, whom conscience condemns for it; who sees justice armed with vengeance to execute the law's curse, and himself about to fall into the Lord's hand, and be arraigned before the bar of the living God; who has no worthiness to recommend him to the blood of Christ; nothing but guilt and terror, sin and uncleanness all about him? What an hell must there be in such a one's conscience, were there not a Christ ready at hand to help him, and had not his soul liberty, without any merit on his part to venture upon him? Had I been sent to works to recommend me to Christ, to make me welcome to the blessed Jesus, I had been undone. I must have called the man who had preached that doctrine, no messenger, no interpreter, one among a thousand, but have judged of him, as one sent to torment me before the time. Ministers know not what they do, when they send poor souls to the law for life. The law is become weak through the flesh. No

a Beausobre's Hist. Reformation, B. i. 1517.

man can keep the law, therefore none can be saved by it."[a] Jesus Christ crucified, who is our *advocate with the Father, and the propitiation for our sins*, is the very essence of our consolation, under all our external pressures, and our internal conflicts. He is the soul of our religion, and of our happiness: our theme, our crown, our strength in weakness, our light in darkness, and our life in death!

> "Religion! thou the soul of happiness;
> And groaning *Calvary* of thee! *there* shine
> The noblest truths; *there* strongest motives sting!
> *There* sacred violence assaults the soul.—
> My theme! my inspiration! and my crown!
> My strength in age! my rise in low estate!
> My soul's ambition, pleasure, wealth!—my world!
> My light in darkness! and my life in death!
> My boast through time! bliss through eternity!
> Eternity too short to speak thy praise!
> Or fathom thy profound of love to man!
> To man, of men the meanest, even to me;
> My sacrifice! my God! what things are these!"[b]

Such truly sublime and rich sentiments as these, respecting Christ crucified, who is now our advocate with the Father, natively tend to raise believers above themselves, and to transport their hearts to heaven, *where Christ sitteth on the right-hand of God.*

Mr Ashe, *desiring to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified*, in this awful season, said farther: "It is one thing to speak of Christ and of heaven, and another thing to feel the consolation of Christ and of heaven, *as I do:*" when he clapped his hand upon his breast, *rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory.* The Lord Jesus Christ, *the Sun of Righteousness*, is the glorious centre of the Christian system, richly diffusing light, life, health, and unspeakable comfort, throughout the whole

a Christian Magazine, vol. vi. p. 154.
b Night Thoughts, No. iv.

body. And when he *arises with healing in his wings*, and shines gloriously upon the souls of his people, as he does sometimes at their death, he removes the bitterness of their affliction; disarms death of it's sting; divests the grave of it's gloomy effect; and fills them with abundant consolation; *For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ.* How highly beneficial is the Lord Jesus Christ to us; and how extremely miserable would we be without Him, especially in trouble and at death! Like the world without the sun; all darkness: and like Magor-missabib, *Terror round about!* The pious subject of this memoir received from Christ's *fulness grace for grace.* He enjoyed rich supplies of suffering grace for a suffering hour, and of dying grace for a dying hour.—At another time, he said, "The comforts of a holy life are real, and soul-supporting. I feel the reality of them, and you may know by me, that it is not in vain to serve God." [a] His religious exercises, and his lively edifying conversation, were highly acceptable to those who visited him in his sickness; and they may be highly useful to posterity. He closed an active and holy life, by a pious and edifying death, on the 20th of Aug. 1662, a short time before the fatal Bartholomew-day. His mortal remains were buried on the 23d of Aug. in the church of St Austin.[b]

Accordingly, he was not actually ejected, by the act of Uniformity, but it is allowed that it was his death only that prevented it; for it is well known that he and some others had resolved to quit their livings, rather than to comply with the measures of the times.

The celebrated Mr Calamy, who had the happiness of being intimately acquainted with Mr Ashe, while he was in London, about the space of twenty-two or twenty-three years, said at his funeral, "I can freely and clearly profess, and that with a sad heart, that I and many others, have lost a real, wise, and godly friend, brother, and fellow-labourer in the Lord: the church hath lost an eminent mem-

a Calamy's Fun. Serm.
b Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 638. Calamy's Fun. Serm.

ber, and choice pillar: and this city hath lost an ancient, faithful, and painful, minister.—And the less sensible the city is of this loss, the greater is the loss.—The ministerial excellencies of many ministers were collected and concentered in one Simeon Ashe. He was a Bezaleel in God's tabernacle, a master-builder, an old disciple,—a burning and a shining light; one whom many ministers, and other good christians, called Father.—And I believe, many experimentally lament over him, as the King did over the prophet Elisha, 2 Kings ii. 12. for he lived desired, and died lamented." [a]

Mr Rutherford, one of the commissioners from the church of Scotland to the Assembly of divines at Westminster, calls him, *Gracious and zealous Mr Ashe.*[b]

A few choice sayings of Mr Ashe, which I have collected from his writings, follow. "*Without me*, saith Christ, *you can do nothing;* neither without him can we endure any thing. And he only can support the sinking soul under the most smarting troubles and heavy oppressions.—We may safely sail through Christ's blood into the bosom of the Father.—Truth, not words, feeds the soul: and I much rather desire, in my ministry, to profit, than to please, my auditory.—Former failings bewailed, shall not interrupt the course of future kindness.—And, execution is the life of law."

Mr Ashe's writings are;

1. *The Best Refuge for the Most Oppressed.* A sermon preached from Psal. ix. 9. to the Honourable House of Commons, at their solemn fast, March 30th, 1642. 4to. pp. 62. London, 1642.

In this elaborate sermon, the author, after representing the *Lord* as a most suitable refuge unto his oppressed people, mentions the English Prelates as great oppressors both in church and commonwealth. He says, "What

a Calamy's Fun. Serm.
b Disput. Lib. Cons. chap. xxi.

county, what city, what town, what village, yea, what family, I had almost said, what person in the kingdom, hath not in one kind or other, in some degree or other, at one time or other, been oppressed by them? They and their officers, by citations, censures, exactions, have been Catholick oppressors. How many wealthy men have been crushed by their cruelty? How many poor families have been ruined by their tyranny? And I beseech you to consider, whether the most pious both among preachers and people, have not met with the hardest measures, from their heavy hands. Alas, alas! How many faithful ministers have they silenced? How many gracious christians have they excommunicated! How many congregations have they starved or dissolved in this kingdom! For the proof of all this, and of more than all this, I appeal unto the many petitions presented to this honourable Parliament." [a]

2. *Good Courage Discovered, and Encouraged.* A sermon preached from Psal. xxxi. 24. before the Commanders of the Military forces, of the city of London, 17th of May, 1642. London, 1642.

3. *The Church Sinking, Saved by Christ.* A sermon preached from Isai. lxiii. 5. before the House of Lords, in the Abbey-church at Westminster, Public Fast, Feb. 26th 1644. 4to. pp. 32. London, 1645.

4. *Religious Covenanting Directed, and Covenant Keeping Persuaded.* A sermon preached from Psal. lxxvi. 11. before the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and Aldermen, his brethren, and the rest of the common council of London, Jan. 14th 1645. Upon which day the *Solemn League and Covenant* was renewed by them and their officers, with prayer and fasting, at Michael Basing-shaw, London. 4to. London, 1646. I have seen this both in Scotland and England. This sermon was printed also at Air, in a small size, good type and decent paper, in the year 1793. I have, at this time, some copies of the Air edition, which the reader may have for 2*d.* each copy. Mr Ashe, in his writings, discovers much zeal for the

a P. 31, 32. See more remarks on this sermon in the author's life.

church of Christ, and for the *Solemn League and Covenant.*

5. *God's Incomparable Goodness unto Israel, unfolded and applied.* A sermon from Psal. lxxiii. 1. before the House of Commons, Fast, April 28th 1647. 4to. pp. 34. London, 1647.

6. *Christ the Riches of the Gospel, and the Hope of Christians.* A sermon from Col. i. 27. at the funeral of Dr Spurstone's only child. London, 1654.

7. *Living Loves betwixt Christ and Dying Christians.* A sermon preached from John xi. 11.—*Our friend Lazarus sleepeth*—At M. Magdalene Bermondsey in Southwark, London, June 6th 1654, at the funeral of that faithful servant of Christ, Mr Jeremiah Whitaker, Pastor of the church there. With a narrative of his exemplary and holy life and death. 4to. pp. 69. London, 1654. I have seen a copy of the second edition of this sermon, same date. Mr Ashe is also said to have preached and published funeral sermons for Mr Ralph Robinson;—Mr Rob. Strange;—Mr Tho. Gataker;—Mr Rich. Vines;—and the Countess of Manchester; but these I have not yet seen. He wrote also several prefaces to the works of others. He published, *The Power of Godliness*, and *A Treatise on the Covenant of Grace*, by the famous *John Ball*, who committed to him all his MSS.

THEODORE BACKHURST.

MR THEODORE BACKHURST, of Overton Waterville, follows in the next place after Mr Ashe, in Mr Neal's List of the Assembly of divines at Westminster. But I have sought in vain for any information respecting this divine, for several years. My researches have been particular and extensive; but always without any success. In looking over the ordinance of Parliament for calling this Assembly, we see the name of *Theophilus Bathurst, of Overton Watervile*—and in the list annexed to the promise or vow, is *Theodore Backhurst.* In my researches I have attended to both names. Horace tells us with great energy, that there were brave men before the wars of Troy, but they were lost in oblivion for want of a poet.[a] This is either the case respecting Mr Backhurst, or the information concerning him is very rare. I have not hitherto found one person who could give the least account of him, or of any of his writings. Nor, in all my reading, have I found the smallest hint, respecting either his life or writings, as far as I can recollect. I cannot, therefore, at this time, give any account of Mr Theodore Backhurst. If any person, or persons, into whose hands this publication may come, can give me any intelligence concerning him, I shall account myself much obliged to them.

Mr Thomas Baylie is next in place, in the order of the list.

a "In endless night they sleep, unwept, unknown:
No bard had they to make all time their own."
Horace, Od. iv. ix. xxvi.

THOMAS BAYLIE, B. D.

RECTOR OF MANINGFORD, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

THOMAS BAYLIE was born in Wiltshire, in England. He was entered of *St Alban's Hall*, in the University of Oxford, in Mich. term, 1600, aged eighteen years, elected Demy of *Magdalen-College*, in 1602, and perpetual Fellow of that house, 1611, he being then Master of Arts. Afterward, he became rector of Maningford Crucis, near Marlborough, in his own country. In the year 1621, he was admitted to the reading of the *sentences*, at which time and after, he was zealously inclined to the puritanical party. There were never, perhaps, men of holier lives than the generality of the *Puritans and Nonconformists* of this period. Their piety and devotedness to God were very remarkable. Their ministers made considerable *sacrifices* for God and religion. They spent their lives, in sufferings, in fastings, in prayers, in walking closely with God in their families, and among their people who were under their pastoral care, in a firm adherence to their principles, and in a series of unremitted labours for the good of mankind. They were indefatigably zealous in their Master's service. Mr Baylie, like our reformers in general, seems to have been strongly attached to his religious principles, and ready to sacrifice every thing in support of them. Accordingly, being zealously attached to the puritanical party, he made an open declaration of his sentiments, took the *covenant*, and was nominated to be one of the Assembly of divines at Westminster. He was a zealous covenanter, and an indefatigable preacher. He had the rich rectory of Mildenhall, in Wiltshire, his own country, conferred on him.

In this he succeeded Dr George Morley, a royalist. [a] After the restoration of King Charles the II, he was turned out from Mildenhall, by the Act for Uniformity.[a] Upon his ejection, he retired to Marlborough, and had a private congregation. He died at Marlborough, in the year 1663, aged 81. His mortal remains were buried in the church of St Peter there, on the 27th day of March that year. Wood says, that upon his death, his conventicle at that place was carried on by another brother as zealous as himself.[b] Thus the Scripture was fulfilled, *A seed shall serve him; it shall be counted to the Lord for a generation.*

Both Wood and Walker say, That he was a Fifth-monarchy man; but Dr Calamy observes very smartly, "That it was not for that he was ejected, but for his *nonconformity.*"

Mr Baylie's writings are;

De Merito Mortis Christi, et Modo Conversionis, Diatribæ duo. Oxon. 1626. 4to.

Concio ad Clerum habitâ in Templo B. Mariæ Oxon. Wood says he has also, as he has been informed, one or more English sermons extant, but such he has not yet seen, nor have I seen them.

a See Memoir of C. Burgess, and of W. Bridge. Dr Calamy's Acc. p. 754. Cont. vol. ii. p. 864.
b Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii.

JOHN BOND,

DOCTOR OF THE LAW, MINISTER AT THE SAVOY, LONDON, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

JOHN BOND was son of Dennis Bond of Dorchester in the county of Dorset. Dennis Bond, his father, who was son of John Bond of Lutton in Dorsetshire, and he the son of Dennis of the same place, was bred up to the trade of a woollen-draper in Dorchester. He was then a constant hearer and great admirer of John White, often called *the Patriarch of Dorchester*.[a] He was elected burgess, with Denzil Hollis, for the Borough of Dorchester, of which he was then alderman, to serve in the Long Parliament. He was accounted a very active man.

John Bond, the subject of this memoir, was educated under the Rev. John White, above mentioned. Mr White's ministry seems to have been highly beneficial to him, in his youthful years. Early impressions are strong; the force of truth is great, and it shall prevail. When young men are, by the blessing of the Lord accompanying his word, the preaching of the glorious gospel of his grace, brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, in connexion with their other learning, they become highly useful to their country; especially when they labour in preaching the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. And, by the faithful administration of gospel ordinances, accompanied with Almighty power and free grace, have often been formed those characters, on whom, under God, depend, in a great measure, the important concerns both of churches, and of nations.

Our young scholar, having received a suitable and

a See Memoir of John White.

well directed education at home, was sent to Cambridge, and placed, Wood says, he thinks, in St John's College, where he took the degree of bachelor of civil law. Afterward he became Lecturer in the city of Exeter, the capital of Devonshire. He was very zealously attached to the Puritans, made an open declaration of his sentiments, and was a sufferer for righteousness' sake with that religious body. But it was a common saying among the Puritans, in those times, *That brown bread with the gospel was good fare.* Accordingly, he cheerfully *endured all things* for the gospel's sake. He triumphed over adversity in every frightful shape with true magnanimity, as our reformers in that period generally did. The general language among the ministers of Christ, at the time of the reformation, was,—*None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God,* Acts xx. 24.

Mr Bond was a zealous covenanter. He shews a very warm attachment, in his writings, to the work of reformation, and to the solemn league and covenant. He says, "The Lord doth absolutely require the *reformation* of religion at this time, in *doctrine*, *worship*, *discipline*, *and government*, in the church.—Also the Lord doth expect that you should promote the late *solemn league and covenant*, that *triple cable* of the three kingdoms, by which the *anchor* of our hope is fastened; that three-fold cord that binds all these kingdoms together and unto God."[a]— He was afterward minister at the Savoy, London, and one of the Assembly of divines at Westminster. About this time, he commenced Doctor of the Laws. Mr Neal says, that he was a superadded divine. Beside those who were originally appointed to sit in the Assembly, in order to supply vacancies which happened by death, desertion, or otherwise, the Parliament named others from time to time, who were called superadded divines. He was sometimes called to preach unto the Long Parliament; and

a Sermon from Isai. xlv. 15. p. 48.

and some of his sermons were published, and are still extant. On the 11th of Dec. 1645, he was made Master of the Hospital called the Savoy under the great seal. He was appointed Master of Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, which Mr John Selden refused. In 1654, he was appointed an assistant to the commissioners of Middlesex and Westminster, for the ejection of ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. Wood says, he lived, as he conceives, to the restoration of King Charles II, 1660, being then about 49 years of age; when he retired to Lutton in Dorsetshire, and died there about 1680.[a]

Mr Bond's Writings are; *A Door of Hope: Also Holy and Loyal Activity.* Two Treatises delivered in several sermons in Exeter. 4to. London, 1641.—A sermon before the Deputy-Lieutenants, 4to. 1643.—*Salvation in a Mystery:* or, *A Prospective Glass for England's Case.* A sermon preached from Isai. xlv. 15. before the House of Commons, fast, March 27th, 1644. 4to. pp. 60. London, 1644. I have seen this sermon both in England and Scotland.—*A Dawning in the West.* A thanksgiving sermon from Isai. xxv. 9. before the House of Commons, 22d Aug. 1645. 4to. London, 1645.—*Job in the West.* Two sermons, at two public fasts, for the five associated western counties of England, from Job xix. 21. 4to. pp. 80. London, 1645.—A thanksgiving sermon, from Psal. l. 23. before the House of Commons, 19th of July 1648. 4to. London, 1648.—A sermon, entitled, *Grapes among Thorns*, before the House of Commons: but these two sermons last mentioned, I have not seen.

a Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. Col. 379, 380.

OLIVER BOWLES, B. D.

PASTOR OF SUTTON, IN BEDFORDSHIRE, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

OLIVER BOWLES was Pastor of Sutton, in Bedfordshire, in England. A Mr Meen at Biggleswade, a town in Bedfordshire, who lately examined the register of Sutton parish very minutely from 1538 to 1700, for some account of Mr Oliver Bowles, says, "It appears to me, that Mr Bowles came to Sutton early in the year 1607. That circumstance is not particularly specified in the register; but there is a new series of entries commencing with that year, in a hand-writing very different from any of the former; and in Dec. 1607 is the following entry among the register of baptisms: "Samuel Bowles filius Mr Bowles baptised Dec. 13th." There are after this, registered the baptisms of ten other sons, who are said to be sons of *Oliver Bowles;* viz. Nathaniel, Benjamin, Joseph, Edward, John, Oliver, Clement, Jonathan, Elisha, and Job. In the register of burials is mentioned another son, *Francis*, buried June 7th 1608, which he most probably had before he came to Sutton; so that it appears certain, this good old patriarch had at least twelve sons." [a] He was chosen to sit in the Assembly of divines at Westminster; and is marked in Mr Neal's list, as giving constant attendance.—He was a very zealous reformer, as appears by his sermon preached from John ii. 17. to the Lords, Commons, and Divines. In his dedicatory epistle to this sermon, he says, "There are many creatures, said the wise man, that are comely in their going; but none so comely as a *zealous reformer.*" He was esteemed a very eminent puritanical minister. But through the indolence

a See Theological and Biblical Magaz. for June 1804.

or inattention of contemporaries, and the distance of time, few facts can be fairly stated with certainty respecting him, as far as I know. And I am fully determined to be silent, when I have not authentic information. Conjectures are uncertain, and in many instances false. I have, therefore, resolved to avoid them, in this work.

Mr Bowles' writings which I have seen are;

Zeal for God's House Quickened: or, A Sermon preached from John ii. 17. before the Assembly of Lords, Commons, and Divines, at their solemn fast, July 7th, 1643, in the Abbey church at Westminster; expressing the eminence of zeal requisite in Church-Reformers. 4to. pp. 48. with an epistle dedicatory, of above five pages. London, 1643. Dr Wilkins, in his Preacher, mentions this sermon, in the enumeration of authors who have written on zeal.

De Pastore Evangelico Tractatus. 4to. London, 1649. This is in the catalogue of books, in the Theological Library, belonging to the students of divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Ed. 1757. This excellent treatise, respecting the evangelical pastor, was printed at London, in a small size, in the year 1655. I have seen one copy of it. It is in Latin. Dr Wilkins, in his Preacher, mentions this treatise, in his enumeration of the treatises of learned men, who have written particularly and largely upon the *art of preaching.* It is eminently judicious and useful.

WILLIAM BRIDGE, A. M.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT YARMOUTH, AND A MEMBER OF THE FAMOUS ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

WILLIAM BRIDGE was a student in Cambridge thirteen years; and sometime Fellow of Emmanuel-College, in that University. He was first minister in Essex, where he continued about five years. He was afterward called and settled in the city of Norwich, the capital of Norfolk, in the parish of St George Tomland. He continued here until he was silenced for non-conformity, by Bishop Wren, in the year 1637. He was afterward excommunicated; and when the writ for taking those who were excommunicated came out against him, he retired to Holland, and became Pastor to the English Church in Rotterdam, where the celebrated Mr Jeremiah Burroughs was preacher. When he was *persecuted in one city*, he *fled into another*. This is allowed, and exemplified both by Christ and his apostles. Wisdom and integrity are indeed necessary, that we may be properly directed in the application of this rule to particular cases. Christ gives liberty to his servants, in imminent danger, when they are violently persecuted, and pursued to their destruction, to retire, both for their own safety, and for the propagation of the glorious gospel of his grace in other places.[a] If their flock be all dispersed by persecution, they may also flee for their own safety. "He who flies may fight again. It is no inglorious thing for Christ's soldiers to quit their ground, provided they do not quit their colours. They may go out of the way of danger, though they must not go out of the way of duty. Observe Christ's care of his disciples, in providing places

a See Acts xiii. 50, 51. & xiv. 5, 6, 7. & viii. 4.

of retreat and shelter for them, ordering it so, that persecution rageth not in all places at the same time; but when one city is made too hot for them, another is reserved for a cooler shade, and a little sanctuary; a favour to be used, and not to be slighted, yet always with this proviso, that no sinful, unlawful means be used to make the escape, for then it is not a door of God's opening." [a] The zealous and pious subject of this memoir, being silenced and excommunicated, and a writ come out against him, could not be useful in this place at that time.

The Puritans were then most severely handled in England, especially by Dr Wren, Bishop of Norwich, for not complying with his Visitation-Articles. The Book contained one hundred and thirty-nine Articles, in which were eight hundred and ninety-seven questions, some very insignificant, others highly superstitious, and several impossible to be answered. The following are a specimen: Is your Communion Table so placed within the Chancel as the Canon directs?—Doth your Minister pray for the King with his whole Title?—Doth he pray for the Archbishops and Bishops?—Doth he observe all the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and administering the Sacrament?—Doth he receive the Sacrament kneeling himself, and administer to none but such as kneel?—Doth your Minister baptize with the sign of the cross?—Doth he wear the surplice while he is reading prayers and administering the Sacraments?—Doth he in Rogation-days use the Perambulation round the Parish?—Hath your minister read the Book of Sports in his Church or Chapel?—Doth he use conceived prayers before or after sermon?—Are the church-yards consecrated?—Are the graves dug east and west, and the bodies buried with their heads to the west?—Do your parishioners, at going in and out of the church, do reverence toward the Chancel?—Do they kneel at confession, stand up at the creed, and bow at the glorious name of Jesus? with several other articles of the same nature. The weight of these inquiries fell

a Henry on Matth. x. 23. vol. v.

chiefly upon the Puritans, for within two years and four months, fifty able and pious ministers were suspended, silenced, and otherwise censured, to the ruin of their poor families, for not obeying one or other of these articles; among whom were, Mr Ashe, Mr William Bridge, Mr Jeremiah Burroughs, Mr Greenhill, and Mr Edmund Calamy, and others, in the Diocese of Norwich.[a] A complaint was brought to the Commons against Wren, for having, while bishop of Norwich, by oppressions, innovations, and requiring certain oaths, compelled above fifty families of that city to withdraw out of England.[b] —And that by his rigorous severities, many of his Majesty's subjects, to the number of three thousand, had removed themselves, their families, and estates. to Holland, and set up their manufactories there, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom.[c] Mr Bridge returned to England, in the year 1642. *Archbishop Laud*, in his annual *accounts* of his province to the King for 1636, thus mentions him; "Mr *Bridge* of *Norwich* rather than he will conform, hath left his Lecture and two Cures, and is gone into *Holland*—King *Charles's* note upon this is, *Let him go, we are well rid of him.*"[d] But he received encouragement from the Long Parliament to return unto his own country, as many of those who were under banishment and oppression, at this time, also did. He was frequently called to preach unto the Parliament. He was after some time chosen minister of Great Yarmouth, in the county of Norfolk, where he continued his useful labours until the Bartholomew Act, when he was ejected with his brethren in that tribulation, in the year 1662.

He was chosen as a fit person to sit in the Assembly of divines at Westminster; and was one of the dissenting brethren, or Independents, in that Assembly.

The *Independents* were undoubtedly so called from their maintaining that all Christian congregations were so

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. v. 1636.
b Rapin's Hist. Engl. vol. ii. fol. B. xx. 1640—1.
c Neal's Hist. vol. ii. chap. vii. 1640.
d Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 364.

many *Independent* religious societies, having a right to be governed by their own laws, without being subject to any other jurisdiction. *Robinson*, their founder, expressly uses this term in explaining his doctrine respecting ecclesiastical government, in his *Apology for the English Exiles.*[a]

The title of *Independents*, probably, was originally derived from that very passage. From the year 1642, this religious denomination is very frequently found in the English *Annals.* The English *Independents* were not displeased with it, but assumed it publicly in a piece which they published in their own defence at *London*, in the year 1644, entitled; *Apologetical Narration of the Independents.* But when in process of time, many sects sheltered themselves under the cover of this extensive denomination, and even seditious persons, aiming at the destruction of the king and the government, employed it as a mask to hide their deformity, then the genuine and religious *Independents* renounced this title, and substituted another in it's place, calling themselves *Congregational Brethren*, and their religious assemblies *Congregational Churches.* The *Independents* chiefly differed from the *Presbyterians* or Calvinists, in ecclesiastical government, as clearly appears by their *Confessions of Faith*, and their other writings, which are extant. Their religious doctrines were nearly the same with those adopted by the church of *Geneva*, and other reformed churches. They were, indeed, averse to episcopacy; but they had fixed and regular ministers, approved by their people; nor did they allow every person to teach publicly, who considered himself qualified for that important office.[b] This is the true character of those *Independents*, who come under our view in these memoirs. We are very highly favoured, by the eminently learned Mosheim, with a most candid and judicious account and vindication of the religious Independents in England, as here referred to; which

a Apologia, cap. v. p. 22. as with Mosheim.

b Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. part. ii. 21. edit. London, 1790.

the reader who wishes to have a fair view of that community will do well to consult.[a]

Mr Bridge and his brethren were eminently distinguished in the Assembly at Westminster, by their abilities, learning, and piety; especially in pleading the cause of the *Independents*, in the Grand Debate, with the *Presbyterians*. The *Independents*, who took up the cause in opposition to the *Presbyterians*, in the Grand Debate, in this Assembly, and subscribed the reasons that were given in, were called the dissenting brethren. They were Messrs Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, Sidrach Simpson, William Bridge, William Greenhill, and William Carter. They entered their dissent respecting the three following propositions, which were made by the *Presbyterians*.

1. "That many particular congregations may be under the government of one Presbytery." The *Presbyterians* endeavoured to prove this, by the instances of the church of *Jerusalem*, and of *Ephesus*, which consisted, they say, of more congregations than one, and were under one Presbyterian government, as appears by the multitude of believers mentioned in several texts of the Acts of the Apostles, the many apostles and preachers in the church, and the diversity of languages among the professors. See Acts ii. 41—46, 47. and iv. 4. and v. 14. and vi. 1—7. and ix. 31. and xii. 24 and xxi. 20. and chap. vi. 2. And these congregations were under one Presbyterial government, because they are one church. Acts viii. 1. and ii. 47. and v. 11. And the apostles did the ordinary acts of presbyters as presbyters in that church, Acts vi. And they meet with the elders for acts of government, Acts xv. 4. and xxi. 17, 18. Rev. ii. 1—7. Acts xx. 17—20. The *Independents* held in the negative, That many particular congregations might not be under the government of one presbytery; but that every particular congregation ought to be under it's own government alone. That the ordinary ruling power of ministers or pastors, did not extend farther than their pastoral charge,

a See Memoir of Mr Burroughs.

or their ordinary teaching. In support of their opinion, they brought in, Acts xx. 28. 1 Pet. v. 2. Heb. xiii. 7. &c. which they considered as holding, that the ruling and teaching power are of equal extent. Mr Baillie, who was in the Assembly, speaking of this proposition, says, "The Independents pressed they might first be heard in the negative. Here they spent to us many of twenty long sessions. Goodwin took most of the speech upon him; yet they divided their arguments among them, and gave the managing of them by turns, to Bridge, Burroughs, Nye, Simpson, and Caryl. Truly, if the cause were good, the men have plenty of learning, wit, eloquence, and, above all, boldness, and stiffness, to make it out; but when they had wearied themselves, and overwearied us all, we found the most they had to say against the presbytery, was but curious idle niceties; yea, that all they could bring was no ways concluding."[a]

2. "That there is a subordination of assemblies or courts." Mat. xviii. proving the subordination of an offending brother to a particular church, by a parity of reason proves the subordination of a congregation to superior assemblies. And he who is wronged by one power, should have recourse to another superior power, to restore his right, and rescind the sentence which injured him; otherwise there would be no powerful remedy against injury and oppression. So appeals may be made from the inferior to the superior respectively, say the *Presbyterians*. But the *Independents* denied all superiority of jurisdiction, or subordination of courts and assemblies.

3. "That one congregation ought not to assume to itself, all and sole power of ordination, if it can associate." Against this the *Independents* gave in their dissent also, reckoning that one single congregation had all and sole power of ordination.[b] The *Independents* entered their dissent only respecting these three propositions in the Assembly.[c]

a Baillie's Letters, vol. i. lett. xlv. p. 436, where the reader may find more on the subject.

b See the Grand Debate.

c Baillie, vol. ii. lett. lxxxviii. p. 78.

Mr Bridge continued to preach the glorious gospel of the grace of God, and to labour among his people in Yarmouth, with uninterrupted zeal and assiduity, until he was cast out by the Act of Uniformity, with his brethren, in the year 1662. His name is found in the respectable list, in Dr Calamy's Index of those persons who were ejected or silenced by the Act for Uniformity.[a]

As this was an event of very great importance in the history of the church of Christ, I have endeavoured to give a particular account of this grievous Act of Uniformity, and of some of it's dreadful consequences, in the memoir of Dr Cornelius Burgess, who was also a sufferer by it.

Mr Bridge and his brethren gave, at this time, plain marks of their candour, and of their sincere love *of the truth, as it is in Jesus.* They have transmitted to posterity edifying and shining examples of faith, piety, patience, and zeal. In them, the glorious gospel of the grace of God has triumphed over the combined malice and wisdom of this world.

The subject of this memoir says, in a sermon which he preached at Westminster, in 1641, "Of all the reformed churches in the world, *England* hath borne the name and worn the crown for the life and power of godliness; yet give me leave with grief of heart, and sadness of spirit, to make a challenge. What reformed church is there in the world, that ever knew so many suspended ministers as England? Speak, O Sun, whether in all thy travels from one end of the heaven to the other, thou didst ever see so many silenced ministers as thou hast done here."[b]

Mr Bridge seems to have had an opportunity of preaching sometimes at *Clapham* in Surrey, after he was ejected. Wood says, "Silenced upon his Majesty's return, he carried on his cause in conventicles at *Clapham* in *Surrey* till about the time of his death."[c] He died at Yarmouth, 12th of March, 1670, aged seventy.

a See Calamy's Cont. vol. ii. Index, and Acc. vol. ii. p. 478.
b Babylon's Downfall, p. 12.
c Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 364.

Mr Neal says, "He was a good scholar, and had a well furnished library, was a hard student, and rose every morning winter and summer at four of the clock. He was also a good preacher, a candid and charitable man, and did much good by his ministry." [a] This seems to be a very just character of Mr William Bridge.

Some sayings of his follow: *Let your company be always such as you may get good from, and do good unto. When you are alone, think of good things; and when you are in company, speak of good things. Keep the truth, and the truth will keep you. And whatever mercy or blessing you receive, trace it to Heaven's gates, and to Christ's blood; for it flowed from Christ's blood, and leads you to heaven.*

Mr Bridge's writings are numerous. He has several sermons before the Parliament: particularly, *Babylon's Downfall:* A sermon preached at Westminster, from Rev. xiv. 8. before sundry of the House of Commons. 4to. pp. 34. London, 1641.—A sermon from Zech. i. 18, &c. before the House of Commons, Fast, 29th Nov. 1643. 4to. pp. 32. London, 1643.—*The Hiding Place of the Saints in the time of God's anger:* A sermon from Zeph. ii. 3. before the Lords, at Westminster, Fast, 28th Oct. 1646. London, 1647.—Twenty-one Treatises of his were collected into 2 vols. 4to. London, 1657. The 1 vol. contains, 1. *The Great Gospel-Mystery of the Saint's comfort and holiness, opened and applied from Christ's Priestly office.* 2. *Satan's power to tempt; and Christ's love to, and care of, his people under temptation.* 3. *Thankfulness required in every condition.* 4. *Grace for Grace; or, the overflowing of Christ's fulness received by all saints.* 5. *The Spiritual actings of Faith, through natural Impossibilities.* 6. *Evangelical Repentance.* 7. *The spiritual life, and in-being of Christ in all believers.* 8. *The woman of Canaan.* 9. *The Saints'*

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. 1670.

Hiding-place in time of God's anger. 10. *Christ's coming is at our midnight.* 11. *A Vindication of Gospel Ordinances.* 12. *Grace and Love beyond Gifts.* The 2 vol. contains, *Scripture-light, the most sure Light.* 14. *Christ in Travail, and his Assurance of Issue.* 15. *A Lifting up for the Down-cast.* 16. *Sin against the Holy Ghost.* 17. *Sins of Infirmity.* 18. *The False Apostle Tried and Discovered.* 19. *The Good and Means of Establishment.* 20. *The Great Things Faith can do.* 21. *The Great Things Faith can suffer.* Beside, he has ten sermons of God's return to the soul—Ten sermons respecting Christ and the covenant. London, 1667.—Eight sermons of good and bad company.—Seasonable truths in evil times. Several sermons preached, in and about London. London, 1668.—*The Freeness of the Grace and Love of God to Believers.* London, 1671.—*The sinfulness of sin, and fulness of Christ.*—A word to the Aged.—His *Remains*, containing eight sermons. London, 1673.

Seven of Mr Bridge's sermons were selected, particularly recommend by the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, to the congregations in connexion with her ladyship, and reprinted in the year 1789. The first three are entitled, The Spiritual Actings of Faith through all natural impossibilities. 4th. No ground of Discouragement for Believers, whatever their condition be. 5th. The Cure of all Discouragements by Faith in Christ Jesus. 6th. The Great Things Faith can do. 7th. The Great Things Faith can suffer. Price 2s. stitched.

Mr Bridge is a very pious and practical writer.

ANTHONY BURGESS, A. M.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF EMMANUEL-COLLEGE IN CAMBRIDGE, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF SUTTON-COLDFIELD, IN WARWICKSHIRE, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

ANTHONY BURGESS was the son of a learned schoolmaster at Watford in Hartfordshire, in England, where Dr Cornelius Burgess was minister, and in this succeeded Dr John Burgess; but he was not a-kin to either of them. He was educated at St John's College, in the University of Cambridge. And from thence he was chosen to a Fellowship in Emmanuel-College merely for his scholarship and worth. He was eminently distinguished in the University, by his piety, his learning, and being a good disputant, and a good tutor. The learned Dr John Wallis, who was his pupil, says, "About Christmas 1632, I was sent to the University of Cambridge, and there admitted in Emmanuel-College, under the tuition of Mr Anthony Burgess, a pious, learned, and able scholar, a good disputant, and a good tutor."[a] A good tutor, in an English University, is highly beneficial to his scholar. It is well known that the tutors, public and private, and not the professors, are the dispensers of that knowledge which is commonly sought in an English University. The case is very different here from what it is abroad, or even in Scotland. There, the professors are the fountains of knowledge. All that is learned must be drawn from that source; but this is not so at Oxford and Cambridge.[b] Where the tutors are the dispensers of useful knowledge, they must be of very great importance. This was the character of

a Memoirs of Dr Wallis prefixed to his sermons, London, 1791. p. 15.

b The Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. iii. p. 285. and 286.

Mr Burgess. He afterwards became pastor of the church of Sutton-Coldfield, in Warwickshire, where he soon gained much reputation. He was esteemed an eminent preacher, a sound and solid divine. When the celebrated Mr Matthew Henry removed from Chester to Hackney, near London, he visited Sutton-Coldfield, or Colefield, as some write it, and preached there from Psal. xxii. 30. *A seed shall serve him; it shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation.* Mr Henry's biographer says, That he was the more willing to see this place, on his way, for the sake of the eminent Mr Anthony Burgess, who had laboured so much among the people there.[a]

Mr Burgess continued to labour among his people with great diligence, until by plundering and other terrors of the soldiers, in the time of the civil war, he was obliged to retire to Coventry for safety. The common people who filled up the king's army were of the looser sort; the chief officers were men of profligate lives, and made a jest of religion; the private sentinels were soldiers of fortune, and not having their regular pay, lived for the most part upon free plunder. When they took possession of a town they rifled the houses of all who were called Puritans, and turned their families out of doors. Mr Baxter says, that when he lived at Coventry after the battle of Edge-hill, there were above thirty worthy ministers in that city who had fled thither for refuge from the soldiers and popular fury, as he himself also had done, though they had never meddled in the wars: among these were the Rev. Messrs Vines, Anthony Burgess, and others.[b] Famous preachers, and pious persons, chiefly suffered. They who prayed in their families, who were heard repeating sermons, or singing psalms, were accounted rebels, and most severely handled.[c] The disciples of Jesus were now subjected to great hardships, on account of their religion. When Mr Burgess retired to Coventry for safety, the same garrison was full of such men, and they had a lecture every morning, in

a Henry's Life by Tong, chap. vi.
b Neals Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. xii. 1642.
c Neal, as above.

which Mr Burgess had a frequent course. From thence he was called to sit in the Assembly of divines at Westminster, where he was generally and highly respected. He was eminently distinguished here, by his solid learning, and genuine piety.

During the time that he was at London, he was repeatedly called to preach unto the Parliament, at their solemn fasts, and on other public occasions. And he was sometime preacher at Lawrence-Jury, there. He was earnestly solicited, by the ministers of London, to give a course of Lectures against the Antinomian errors of these times, which were delivered at Lawrence-Jury, and afterward published. The learned society, at whose solicitation these excellent lectures were given, earnestly desired their publication, as follows: "We the President and Fellows of Sion-College, London, earnestly desire Master *Anthony Burgess* to publish in print his elaborate and judicious lectures upon the law and the covenants against the Antinomin errors of these times, which at our entreaty he hath preached, and for which we give him most hearty thanks, that so as well the kingdom, as this city, may have the benefit of those his learned labours. Dated at Sion-College, the 11th of June, 1646, at a general meeting of the ministers of London there. *Arthur Jackson*, President, in the name and by the appointment of the rest."[a] In the year 1538, John Agricola, a native of Eisleben, made a declaration against *the law*, maintaining that it was neither fit to be proposed to the people as a rule of manners, nor to be used in the church as a mean of instruction; and that *the gospel* alone was to be inculcated and explained both in the churches and in the schools of learning. The followers of Agricola were called *Antinomians*, that is, enemies of the law.[b] They held that the law is of no use or obligation under the gospel-dispensation; and taught

a This is prefixed to the Lectures.—Sion-College was founded in 1627, by Dr Thomas White, Vicar of Dunstan's in the West, for the benefit and improvement of the London clergy. Here is a public library, containing about fifteen thousand books, printed and in manuscript. Description of England and Wales, vol. vi. under Middlesex.

b Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 168.

doctrines that evidently supersede the necessity of good works and a holy life. The *Antinomians*, greatly prevailed in England in the seventeenth century. Dr *Crisp*, who was born in London, in the year 1600, was a flaming preacher among them.[a] Great disputes were occasioned by the publication of the Posthumous Works of *Crisp*, who died 27th of Feb. 1643.

The errors and sophistry of the *Antinomians* are unmasked and refuted, by Mr Burgess in his lectures at Lawrence-Jury, in the most satisfactory manner. Their opinions are brought to the test of a judicious examination, by the lively oracles of God: and they are completely deprived of the fallacious arguments by which they maintained their errors. These lectures were very necessary when they were delivered; and they may undoubtedly be highly beneficial to the christian church in every age, especially when Antinomian errors prevail. "For the christian world in general, it is most requisite to urge and persuade them to yield a careful and diligent attention to that moral law, the law of God, of rectitude and truth, the authority and obligation of which they do not hesitate to acknowledge. If there be others who disclaim such *obligation*, and hold themselves exempted from religious obedience, it is of great moment to convince them of their error, and to endeavour to stem its progress."[b]

Mr Burgess, having finished his labours at London, returned to discharge the duties of his pastoral office at Sutton-Coldfield. He conformed before the wars, but he was so far from the new conformity, as it was settled at the restoration, that upon his death-bed he professed great satisfaction in his having refused it. He was ejected from Sutton-Coldfield, by the act for Uniformity in 1662.[c] After his ejectment, he lived at Tamworth, a town in Staffordshire, in a very cheerful and pious manner. Before he left his place, the new Bishop of Coventry and

a See Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Part ii. xxiii. Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 26.

b The Monthly Review Enlarged, vol. xix. p. 464.

c See Memoirs of Dr Cornelius Burgess, and of Mr William Bridge.

Litchfield sent for him, as he did also for several other worthy dissatisfied ministers in his diocese, hoping to gain upon them. This design failed, but he gave encomiums of several of them. He said respecting Mr Burgess, "That he was fit for a Professor's place in the University." He was eminently learned and pious; every way possessing the highest claims to public esteem and deference. A judicious writer well observes, "The primitive dissenters from our ecclesiastical establishment, were not less eminent for learning than for piety; of the two thousand ministers, who, in the reign of Charles the Second, so nobly resigned emoluments and dignities, for conscience-sake, few were destitute of literary accomplishments. while some possessed and exhibited them in a degree which will immortalize both their names and their usefulness." [a]

Mr Flavel, Fountain of Life, serm. 25, says, that Mr Anthony Burgess was *a grave divine.* Dr *John Wallis*, who was a member of the Assembly of divines at Westminster, was his pupil, and gives him the following character: he says, "I was sent to the University of Cambridge, and there admitted in Emmanuel-College, under the tuition of Mr Anthony Burgess, a pious, learned, and able scholar, a good disputant, a good tutor, an eminent preacher, a sound and orthodox divine, and afterward minister of Sutton-Coldfield, in Warwickshire." [b]

Mr Burgess is an eminent writer. Dr Fuller, in his History of the University of Cambridge, in the account of Emmanuel-College, page 148, says, "Among the *learned writers* of this College, I have omitted many still alive, as Mr *Anthony Burgess*, the profitable expounder of the much mistaken nature of the *two covenants.*" Dr Wilkins, in his Preacher, enrols Mr Anthony Burgess among some of the most eminent of the English divines, for sermons and practical divinity. Dr Cotton Mather, in his Student and Preacher, speaks thus: "Of an A. Burgess, I may say, he has written for thee excellent things."

a The Instructer, No. 33. p. 257. See Dr Calamy's Account of the Ejected Minrs. and Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial.

b Memoirs of Dr Wallis, as above. See also Dr Calamy's Cont. vol. ii. p. 853.

His style is neat and plain. His writings are;

1. *The Difficulty of, and Encouragements to Reformation:* A sermon preached from Mark i. 2, 3, before the House of Commons, at the public fast, 27th Sept. 1643. 4to. pp. 28. London, 1643.

2. *Judgments Removed, where Judgment is Executed:* A sermon preached from Psalm cvi. 30, 31. to the Court-Martial in Lawrence-Jury, London, 5th of Sept. 1644. Being the day of their solemn seeking the Lord for his blessing upon their proceedings. 4to. pp. 13. London, 1644.

3. *The Magistrate's Commission from Heaven:* A sermon preached from Rom. xiii. 4. in Lawrence-Jury, London, the 28th of Sept. 1644. at the election of the Lord Mayor. 4to. pp. 20. London, 1644.

In this sermon, there are some very judicious remarks respecting the extent of the magistrate's power in the church. He says, "It extends unto the reforming and redressing of all the corruptions that creep into the church and the worship of God. This the magistrate's power reaches unto, in Deut. And so we read of *Josias*, *Moses*, *Hezekiah*, all these worthy governors, their power did reach to the redressing of the abuses that were in the church of God, when idolatry and superstition came in: so that it is made their sin, that the high places were left. Why the magistrates had power then, and should not have power now, there can no solid reason be given. Indeed the manner of the punishment, belonging to God's judicial law, may be altered, but their duty to preserve the worship of God, which floweth from the moral law, cannot cease."—He adds, "Their power extendeth yet farther, and that is to restrain heresies and errors, or any thing that may spread itself to the destruction of the church."—

4. *Rome's Cruelty and Apostacy:* A sermon preached from Rev. xix. 2. on the 5th of Nov. 1644, before the House of Commons. 4to. pp. 21. London, 1645.

In this sermon, the author, after giving a particular account of the great *Cruelty* and *Apostacy* of the idolatrous church of Rome, says to his learned auditory, "The way to keep out popery is to encourage learning. The heathens

in their sacrifice to *Apollo* offered Ivy to him, to shew, that learning could not grow unless the magistrates would bear it up. God forbid, therefore, that ever you should discourage it; for at the same time when God brought truth into the world, human literature flourished, and was a great help thereunto."

5. *The Reformation of the Church to be endeavoured more than that of the Commonwealth:* A sermon preached from Judges vi. 27, 28, 29. before the House of Lords, at the public fast, 27th Aug. 1645. 4to. pp. 27. London, 1645.

In this excellent sermon, the reformation of the church of Christ is a chief object of attention, and warmly recommended to the illustrious auditory. In it, the author discovers much zeal for the purity of divine institutions, and for the glory of God.

6. *Public Affections Pressed.* A sermon preached from Numb. xi. 12. before the House of Commons, 25th Feb. 1645. 4to. London, 1646. I have seen these sermons both in Scotland and England.

7. *Vindiciæ Legis:* or, *A Vindication of the Moral Law, and the Covenants, from the Errors of Papists, Arminians, Socinians, and more especially, Antinomians:* In twenty-nine lectures, preached at Lawrence-Jury, London. Small 4to. pp. 271. London, 1646. The second edition, 4to. pp. 281. London, 1647. I have seen copies of both editions, both in England and Scotland.

8. *The True Doctrine of Justification Asserted and Vindicated, from the Errors of Papists, Arminians, Socinians, and more especially Antinomians*: In thirty lectures preached at Lawrence-Jury, London. Part 1. 4to. London, 1648. 2d edit. 1651. The third edition, with the addition of the contents of each sermon, by a friend of the author. 4to. pp. 300. London, 1655.

9. *A Treatise of Justification.* Part 2. *Of the Natural Righteousness of God, and Imputed Righteousness of Christ.* 4to. London, 1654. In forty-five sermons.

10. *Spiritual Refining:* or, *A Treatise of Grace and Assurance.* Folio pp. 696. London, 1652.

In this excellent treatise, are handled, the doctrine of

assurance; the use of signs in self-examination; how true graces may be distinguished from counterfeit; several true signs of grace, and many false ones; the nature of grace under several scripture-notions or titles, as regeneration, the new creature, the heart of flesh, vocation, sanctification, &c. Many chief questions occasionally controverted between the Orthodox and the Arminians. Also many cases of conscience; the whole tending to comfort and confirm saints, undeceive and convert sinners.

11. *Spiritual Refining:* Part 2. or, *A Treatise of Sin, with it's Causes, Differences, Mitigations, and Aggravations.* 4to. pp. 368. London, 1654. Second edition, both parts, folio, London, 1658.

The main scope of this work is to bring not only the ungodly, but the believer also into more acquaintance with his own heart. I have seen this useful work; both parts, in the valuable library belonging to the presbytery of Dumfries, in several counties in Scotland, and in England.

12. *One Hundred and forty-five Expository Sermons upon the whole seventeenth chapter of the Gospel according to John:* or, *Christ's Prayer before his Passion explained, and both practically and polemically improved.* Folio. pp. 702. London, 1656.

Dr Edward Williams, in his Preacher's Library, says, "Burgess's expository sermons on John xvii. are full of sound doctrine, methodically arranged, and closely applied, in very plain language."

In Mr Ogle's Theological catalogue, p. 5. London, 1809, the price is marked, 10*s*. I have seen this volume of sermons, in several parts of Scotland.

13. *The Doctrine of Original Sin, Asserted and Vindicated against the old and new Adversaries thereof, Socinians, Papists, Arminians, and Anabaptists. And practically improved for the benefit of the meanest capacities.* Folio. pp. 555. London, 1659.

This excellent work is divided into four parts; the first proving, *That Original Sin is*, by pregnant texts of scripture vindicated from false glosses; the second shewing what it is, and how communicated; the third handling it's subject, in what part it resides, and what powers of

the soul are corrupted by it; and the fourth setting forth it's immediate effects. To which is added a digressive epistle concerning *Justification* by faith alone, excluding the conditionality of works in that act.

I have seen this elaborate work, in the library belonging to the presbytery of Dumfries, and two copies of it, in the library of the University of Glasgow, and several copies of it, in different parts of Scotland; and I have seen it in England.

14. *The Scripture Directory, for Church Officers and People:* or, *A Practical Commentary* upon the whole third chapter of 1 Cor. To which is annexed the Godly and the Natural Man's Choice, upon Psal. iv. 6, 7, 8. Folio, London, 1659.

15. *An Expository Commentary on the whole first Chapter of* 2 *Cor.* Fol. pp. 697. London, 1661.

Dr Edward Williams, in his Preacher's Library, says, "Burgess's Expository Comment. on 2 Cor. i. fol. Lon. 1661, deserves the same character as his work on John xvii."—I have seen it in different parts of Scotland.

It is said, that Mr Burgess has a Treatise of Self-judging, in order to the Sacrament, with a Sermon on the Day of Judgment; but these I never saw.

JEREMIAH BURROUGHS, A. M.

A FAMOUS PREACHER TO TWO OF THE LARGEST CONGREGATIONS ABOUT LONDON, STEPNEY AND CRIPPLEGATE; AND ONE OF THE DISSENTING BRETHREN IN THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

JEREMIAH BURROUGHS was educated in the University of Cambridge; but he was obliged to remove both from the University and the kingdom for nonconformity, in these evil times. He had now his season of adversity; but he was sufficiently supported under it. He was *persecuted, but not forsaken.*—He was among those pious and faithful ministers and followers of Christ, who suffered severely by Bishop Wren's Visitation-Articles.[a] *Laud*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, was now high in place, and carried things to excessive and intolerable lengths, through his warm and violent attachment to the ancient rites and ceremonies of the church. The king was entirely directed by his counsels.[b] And Rapin says, "If it was endeavoured in Scotland to ruin Presbyterianism (Calvinism) by indirect ways, it was thought proper to proceed in England with less caution. Accordingly, all possible efforts were used to destroy it utterly, by persecuting the Puritans, for whom there was not the least condescension."—Samuel Ward, a minister in Ipswich, boldly preached against the king's Book of Sports, and also said, *That the church of England was ready to ring changes in Religion:* for which he was suspended by the high commission-court, and afterward committed to prison for refusing to make a public recantation.[c]

Mr Burroughs cheerfully renounced every temporal in-

a See Memoir of Mr William Bridge.

b Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. cent. xvii. sect. ii. part i. chap. i. x.

c Rapin's Hist. England, fol. vol. ii. B. xix. 1633. p. 289.—1636. p. 294.

terest for the sake of truth, and with determined courage, trusting in the Lord, he retired to Holland.[a] There he became minister of an English congregation at Rotterdam, He continued here sometime; but returned to England, when he received encouragement by the Long Parliament, and became preacher to two of the largest and most numerous congregations about London, Stepney and Cripplegate He was called to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and was one of the dissenting brethren in that Assembly; but shewed himself to be a divine of great candour, modesty, and charity. Mr Baxter was accustomed to say, If all the Presbyterians had been like Mr Marshall, and all the Independents like Mr Burroughs, their differences might have been easily compromised. Mr Burroughs made a declaration in the name of the Independents, in their difference with the Presbyterians, "That if the Independent congregations might not be exempted from that coercive power of the classes; if they might not have liberty to govern themselves in their own way, as long as they behaved peaceably toward the civil magistrate, they were resolved to suffer, or go to some other place of the world, where they might enjoy their liberty."[b] It was said, That the divisions which prevailed in these times broke his heart, because one of the last subjects which he preached upon, and printed, was his *Irenicum*, to the lovers of truth and peace, or an attempt to heal divisions among Christians. He never gathered a separate congregation, nor accepted of a parochial living, but wore out his strength in continual preaching, and other services of the church. *He endured all things for the elect's* sakes, that they may also obtain the *salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory.* He denied himself, that he might promote the eternal happiness of his fellow-creatures. Like Paul, he *travailed as in birth*, in order that *Christ might be formed in the souls of his hearers.* In his preaching, he did not use "those gaudy ornaments which too often put the preacher in the

a See Memoir of W. Bridge.

b Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. chap. vi. 1645. where the reader may find more on the subject.

place of his text; or, as one has well expressed it, serve only to evaporate weighty truths, and to make them appear as light as the style."—His great aim was to guide his hearers in the way to heaven; and accordingly, plainness and persuasion were the chief objects of his attention.[a] The plain Calvinistic doctrine of the Reformation was honoured with wonderful success, in promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, at that time. Mr Burroughs's sermons were pregnant with important instructions. He, in a peculiar manner, warmly charged home the evil of sin, and proclaimed solemnly the benefits of redemption through Christ's atoning blood. An ingenious writer says, "Presumption and despair are the two dangerous extremes to which mankind are prone in religious concerns. Charging home sin precludes the first, proclaiming redemption prevents the last." In both these, Mr Burroughs excelled; as may be clearly seen, by his two remarkable treatises, *The Exceeding Sinfulness of Sin*, and *Gospel-Remission*. He neither flattered the pride of his hearers, nor cherished their presumption; but unfolded clearly to them the way of saving sinners through an atonement, in which mercy and truth meet together, righteousness and peace embrace each other; in which God *is just, and the justifier of him who believes in Jesus*. Such doctrine natively tends to humble us, and to endear God's name to us. And it claims, in a particular manner, the attention of ministers of the gospel.

Mr Burroughs was esteemed a great ornament of the pulpit. He used to preach at Stepney-church in the morning, at seven o'clock, and Mr Greenhill in the afternoon at three; which occasioned Hugh Peters, in a sermon which he preached there, to call the one the morning star of Stepney, and the other, the evening star.

Mr Burroughs died of a consumptive illness on the 14th of Nov. 1646, about the forty-seventh year of his age. Mr Neal says, "He was an excellent scholar, and a good expositor, and most popular preacher."[b] He is

a See Mr Walker's Sermons, of Edin. vol. i. ser. i.
b Hist. Purit. vol. iii.

eminently distinguished, and best known to us at this time, by his pious and useful writings. He wrote, and published several treatises while he lived, and his friends published more after his death, which have met with general acceptance. He is a writer of great penetration, pays much attention to his subject, handles it very extensively, and often brings to view very uncommon things. He is both evangelical and practical. He sacrifices not the truth of his subject to the splendor of composition. His style is homely; but his subject is excellent. Dr Wilkins, in his Preacher, reckons him among some of the most eminent of the English divines for sermons and practical divinity. And he gives him a place also, as a commentator on Hosea. Dr Cotton Mather, in his Student and Preacher, says, "And some things of a Burroughs, especially his Moses's Choice, will not make you complain that you have lost your time in conversing with them." His name is enrolled among the learned writers of Emanuel-College, in the University of Cambridge, by Dr Fuller.[b] He discovers a strong attachment to the solemn league and covenant, and the work of reformation, in his writings. They are numerous; and I cannot say that I am able to give a proper account of them all; but I shall give a correct account, as far as my knowledge extends.

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1. *The Excellency of a Gracious Spirit:* A treatise on Numb. xiv. 24. A small book. London, 1638.—1640.—1649.—and 1657.

2. *The Sea-Man's Direction in time of Storm:* A sermon from Psalm cxlviii. 8. delivered upon occasion of a stormy wind. London, 1640.

3. *Moses's Self-Denial:* A treatise upon Heb. xi. 24. Small book. London, 1641.—1649.—1657.

4. *Moses's Choice, with his eye fixed upon Heaven: discovering the happy condition of a self-denying heart:* A treatise upon Heb. xi. 25, 26. 4to. pp. 754. London, 1641.—1650.—and 1659.

a Fuller's Hist. Univ. Cambr. p. 147.

5. *Zion's Joy:* A sermon preached from Isai. lxvi. 10. to the House of Commons, at their Public Thanksgiving, for the Peace concluded between England and Scotland, Sept. 7th, 1641. 4to. pp. 64. London, 1641.

6. *The Glorious Name of God, The Lord of Hosts:* Two sermons from Isai. xlvii. 4. At Michael's Cornhill, London: Vindicating the commission from this Lord of Hosts, to subjects, in some case, to take up arms. With a postscript, briefly answering a treatise by Henry Ferne, D. D. 4to. London, 1643.

7. *An Exposition with Practical Observations on the Prophecy of Hosea.* In 4 vols. 4to. Vol. i. London, 1643. vol. ii. and iii. Lond. 1650. and vol. iv. Lond. 1651. I have seen a copy of the 2d edition of vol. i. on the first three chapters, London, 1652.—This exposition of the prophecy of Hosea extends only to chapter xiii. 11. the author dying before he had finished what he intended on it. Respecting this exposition, Dr Edward Williams, in his Preacher's Library, says, "Burroughs on Hosea is a pleasing specimen, to shew how the popular preachers of his time applied the scriptures to the various cases of their hearers, in their expository exercises."

8. A Sermon preached from Phil. iv. 12. before the House of Peers, in the Abbey at Westminster, Fast, 26th Nov. 1645. 4to. pp. 50. London, 1646.

9. A Sermon preached from Mat. v. 6. before the Commons, at their solemn Fast, 26th Aug. 1646. London, 1646.

10. *Irenicum, to the Lovers of Truth and Peace. Heart-divisions opened, in the causes and evils of them: With cautions that we may not be hurt by them, and endeavours to heal them.* 4to. pp. 302. London, 1646.—1653.

11. *Gospel-Worship:* or, *The Right Manner of Sanctifying the Name of God in general. And particularly in these three great ordinances, Hearing the Word, Receiving the Lord's Supper, and Prayer.* Small 4to. pp. 297. London, 1648.

12. *Gospel-Conversation:* Shewing, 1. How the conversation of believers in Christ ought to exceed what could be by the light of nature. 2. Beyond those who

lived under the law. 3. And suitable to those truths which the gospel reveals: In seven sermons, preached from Phil. i. 27. in the years, 1645, and 1646. And three sermons, from John xviii. 36. wherein the nature of Christ's kingdom is explained; and a Gospel-Conversation answerable thereunto is warmly recommended. Unto which is added, *The Misery of those Men who have their Portion in this Life*, from Psal. xvii 14. Small 4to. pp. 358. London, 1648.—1650.

13. *The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment.* 4to. Lon. 1649. pp. 239. Lon. 1651.—1666.—1670.—1685.

Perhaps this book was printed before 1649; but the edition in 1649 is the first that I have seen. The book has been often printed, and may be read with interest. Good judges have recommended it, as worthy of a perusal.

14. *Two Treatises:* 1. *Of Earthly Mindedness.*—2. *Of Conversing in Heaven, and Walking with God.* Small 4to. London, 1650.—1656.

15. *A Treatise of the Evil of Evils:* or, *The Exceeding Sinfulness of Sin.* 4to. London, 1654.

The subject is very important, and calls for more than ordinary attention at this time, when sin greatly abounds. And the author has shewn much zeal and concern in his manner of treating it. The book will amply repay the trouble of a perusal.

16. *The Saints' Treasury; Holding forth, The incomparable excellency and holiness of God.—Christ's All in All.—The glorious enjoyment of Heavenly things by Faith.—The Natural Man's bondage to the Law, and the Christian's liberty by the Gospel.—And a preparation for judgment:* Several sermons preached in London. A thin small quarto, 131 pages. London, 1654.

His pieces on *Precious Faith*, *Hope*, and *Walking by Faith*, seem to have been published about this time; but I have not seen them, and therefore cannot give any particular account of them.

17. *Gospel-Reconciliation:* or, *Christ's Trumpet of Peace to the World.* 2 Cor. v. 18, 19, 20. Two sermons are added; one from Hos. ii. 14. and another from Prov. xvi. 31. 4to. London, 1657.

18. *Christ Inviting Sinners to Come to Him for Rest:* Sermons from Mat. xi. 28, 29, 30. In four Books. A thick quarto. London, 1659.

19. *The Saints' Happiness; together with the several steps leading thereunto:* Forty-one sermons, or discourses, on the Beatitudes, Mat. v. These were the last sermons which our author preached: and they were published about thirteen years after his death, by his friends. 4to. pp. 662. London, 1660.

20. *Gospel-Revelation: In three Treatises.* 1. *The Nature of God.* 2. *The Excellencies of Christ.* 3. *The Excellency of Man's Immortal Soul.* 4to. pp. 370. London, 1660.

21. *The Excellency of Holy Courage in Evil Times.* 4to. pp. 215. London, 1661.

22. *Gospel-Remission:* or; *A Treatise shewing, that True Blessedness consists in Pardon of Sin.* 4to. pp. 220. London, 1668. The second edition, London, 1674.

23. *Four Useful Discourses.* 1. *The Art of Improving a full and prosperous Condition, for the Glory of God; an Appendix to the art of Contentment, in three sermons from* Phil. iv. 12. 2. *Christian Submission, from* 1 Sam. iii. 18. 3. *Christ a Christian's Life; and Death his Gain,* Phil. i. 21. 4. *The Gospel of Peace sent to the Sons of Peace:* Six sermons, from Luke x. 5, 6. 4to. London, 1675.

24. *The Difference between the Spots of the Godly, and of the Wicked.* A small book. London, 1687.

I have been informed that this laborious author has a piece, entitled, *Jerusalem's Glory;* but I have not seen it, though I expected it before this time.

I have seen part of Mr Burroughs' writings in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in the shires of Dumfries and Wigton, and especially in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanark; and some of them belonging to the library of the University of Glasgow. I have seen part of them in England, especially about London. They often occur in catalogues of books, and chiefly in the British metropolis.

RICHARD BYFIELD, M. A.

PASTOR IN LONG DITTON, IN SURREY, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

RICHARD BYFIELD was born in Worcestershire, in England. He was brother or half brother to the famous English divine and writer, Mr Nicholas Byfield. Richard Byfield, at sixteen years of age, in the year 1615, was entered at the University of Oxford, in Queen's College, at Mich. term. When he had taken the degrees in arts, he left the University. He had the Curacy or Lectureship of *Isleworth* some time. Afterward he became rector of Long Ditton, in the county of Surrey.[a] He was a pastor who really fed the people with knowledge. He was now eminently distinguished as a zealous reformer, and strenuous opposer of superstitious devices. He was eminently zealous for the sanctification of the Sabbath-day, as clearly appears by his vindication of the doctrine of the Sabbath. And he seems to have suffered suspension and sequestration for not reading the Book of Sports: for he says, in his epistle dedicatory, prefixed to his two sermons from 1 Cor. iii. 17. "I sat down under their unjust illegal sentence, with this saying to some of my acquaintance: *There is no coming in for me again, but with the breaking of the whole state; an alteration that must change the kingdom and the laws thereof.* I sat down willingly to see *the way of God in his work.* The desires of my soul were toward him in that hour and power of darkness.—In the time of that four years and four weeks' suspension and sequestration that I suffered, my thoughts, among other things, were on that text, in Zech. ii. 13." It appears here, that this respects his suspension for not reading the Book of Sports. He also

a Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 340.

mentions here, that he was formerly a teacher of the congregation of Kingston on Thames.

He was chosen to be one of the Assembly of divines at Westminster; and he was a respectable member in that brilliant constellation.—He was a very zealous covenanter.—In the year 1654, he was appointed an assistant to the commissioners of Surrey for ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters.

There was once a difference between him and his patron, Sir John Evalyn, respecting the reparation of the church. Mr Byfield complained to Oliver Cromwell, then Protector, who brought them both together, in order to reconcile them. Sir John said, that Mr Byfield reflected upon him in his sermons. Mr Byfield most solemnly declared he never intended any reflection upon him. Oliver, thereupon turning to Sir John, said, Sir, *I doubt there is something indeed amiss; the word is penetrating, and finds you out: Search your ways.* This he spake so pathetically, and with so many tears, that Sir John, Mr Byfield, and others present, weeped also. The Protector made them good friends before he dismissed them. And to bind the friendship the faster, he ordered his secretary to pay Sir John £100 toward the repair of the church.

Mr Byfield was ejected from Long Ditton for non-conformity, by the Act for Uniformity, above-mentioned. He was the oldest minister in the county before he was ejected. He retired after this to Mortlake, a pleasant village in the county of Surrey, seated on the Thames, a few miles from London. Here he spent his time in preparing for his approaching death. He preached usually twice every Lord's-day in his own family; and he did so the very Lord's-day before his death. The next day he intimated to those about him, that his departure was at hand. He gave many serious exhortations and admonitions to his wife and children, and particularly charged the latter to live in love, that the God of love and of peace might be with them. On the Thursday, a friend desired his judgment on Rev. viii. 1. to which he spake with great freedom for a considerable time together; and then rising from his seat, he fell into an apoplectic fit, and

only saying that he desired to rest his head, he slept in the Lord, Dec. 1664. aged 67.

He is allowed to have been a man of great piety and zeal.[a]

Mr Byfield's writings are;

1. *The Light of Faith, and Way of Holiness; shewing how and what to believe in all estates and conditions.* London, 1630.

2. *The Doctrine of the Sabbath Vindicated, In confutation of a Treatise of the Sabbath, written by Mr Edward Breerwood against Mr Nicholas Byfield.*

In this Vindication of the Sabbath, Mr Byfield maintains the five following things: 1. That the fourth commandment is given to the servant and not to the master *only*. 2. That the fourth commandment is moral. 3. That our own light works as well as gainful and toilsome works are forbidden on the Sabbath. 4. That the Lord's day is a divine Institution. 5. That the Sabbath was instituted from the beginning. An elaborate and valuable work. 4to. pp. 227. London, 1631.

3. *The Power of the Christ of God:* or, *a Treatise of the Power, as it is originally in God the Father, and by him given to Christ his Son,* &c. 4to. London, 1641.

4. Zion's Answer to the Nation's Ambassadors, according to Instructions given by Isaiah from God's mouth: A sermon from Isai. xiv. 32. before the House of Commons, fast, 25th June, 1645. 4to. London, 1645.

5. *Temple-Defilers Defiled; Wherein a true Visible Church of Christ is described:* Two sermons preached from 1 Cor. iii. 17. at the Lecture in Kingston-upon-Thames, Feb. 20th, and 27th. 1644. London, 1645.

6. *The Gospel's Glory without Prejudice to the Law, shining forth in the Glory of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the Salvation of Sinners, who through Grace do believe according to the draught of the Apostle Paul in* Rom. iii. 24. London, 1659.

7. *The Real Way to Good Works.*

8. A Treatise of Charity.

[a] Wood, Calamy, and Palmer.

EDMUND CALAMY, B. D.

AN EMINENT DIVINE AMONG THE ENGLISH NONCONFORMISTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, PASTOR OF ALDERMANBURY, LONDON, AND A MEMBER OF THE VENERABLE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

EDMUND CALAMY was born in London, in the month of February, in the year 1600. His father was a citizen of London. The subject of this memoir was educated in Pembroke-hall, in the University of Cambridge, where he was admitted on the 4th of July, 1616. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year 1619; and that of Bachelor of Divinity, in the year 1632. He very early discovered his hostility to the prevailing Arminian party, which greatly hindered him from obtaining a Fellowship in that society, even when he was justly entitled to it by his standing, his useful learning, and his unblemished character. In *England*, the face of religion was considerably changed, in a very little time after the famous Synod at *Dort*, in the year 1618. And this remarkable change was entirely in favour of *Arminianism*. And it was principally effected by the counsels and influence of *William Laud*, archbishop of *Canterbury*. This strange revolution gave new courage to the Arminians; whose leaders were eminently distinguished by their eloquence, sagacity, and learning. And the decisions and doctrines of the Synod of *Dort*, respecting the points in debate between the Arminians and the Calvinists, were now treated, in *England*, with something more than mere indifference, beheld by some with aversion, and by others with contempt.[a] And the genius and spirit of the

a Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. cent. xvii. sect. ii. part ii. chap. ii. xii.

Church of *England* was very favourable to the Arminian tenets, at this time. In these circumstances, a person warmly attached to the Calvinistic system, and hostile to Arminians, as Mr Calamy certainly was, could not readily expect much preferment, either in the University, or in the Church of England, during this period. At last, however, he was elected *Tanquam Socius*, as it were Fellow, of Pembroke-hall. This was peculiar to that Hall. Beside the society of the Fellows, the *Tanquam Socius* had his dividend in the garden; liberty to take pupils; and the honour of the cup; together with a certain stipend, but he had no share in the government of the house. Yet take it altogether, though there was less profit, there was at least as much honour in being *Tanquam Socius*, as in being Fellow; for it was an evident sign, that, though the College conferred only this, they thought him on whom they conferred it worthy of the other, since they might otherwise have saved themselves this expence.[a] The *Tanquam Socius* held his office but for three years, unless he was re-chosen. Respecting Mr Calamy, he was within that time better accommodated in the goodness of Divine Providence.—Hence we may see that it is not, therefore, at all likely, that he should be then of the Laudensian Faction, as Dr Walker unworthily insinuates.[b] Our author's grand-son says, that he had good evidence of the contrary.[c] Mr Calamy's studious disposition, and his religious character, greatly recommended him to Doctor Felton, the eminently pious and learned Bishop of Ely, who took particular notice of him, made him his domestic Chaplain, and paid him, during his residence in his family, uncommon marks of respect. The prudent bishop gave particular directions, that Mr Calamy should not be called down to family-prayers, nor upon any other occasion, without half an hour's notice, that his studies might not be abruptly interrupted. The generous bishop gave him also, as another signal mark of his

a Biogr. Britannica, 2 edit. vol. iii. fol. under Calamy.
b Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 255.
c Calamy's Cont. vol. i. p. 7.

respect, the Vicarage of Mary's in Swaffham-Prior, in his neighbourhood, in Cambridgeshire, where he did much good, and was highly beneficial to many souls. Mr Calamy served the church in this place, while he was in the house of Bishop Felton, and resigned that charge about the time that he removed to Bury. The good bishop also very obligingly directed and assisted Mr Calamy in his studies, which he pursued with unwearied assiduity. He was an illustrious example of the literary diligence of these times He studied now at the rate of sixteen hours each day. Lord Chief Justice Hale told himself, That for two years after he came to the inn of Court, he studied sixteen hours a day. His lordship added, however, that by this intense application he almost brought himself to his grave, though he had a very strong constitution [a] But the times, and the all-important work of the Reformation, required much study; and the Divine promise was most seasonably accomplished, *And as thy days, so shall thy strength be.* In this favourable situation, Mr Calamy relinquished all unprofitable amusements, and devoted himself entirely to his studies. He read over the controversies of Bellarmine entirely, one of the most celebrated controversialists of the Church of Rome, and the answers which were written by Chamier, Whitaker, Reynolds, and others, who, by parts undertook the refutation of his voluminous work Mr Calamy also perused several writings of the Schoolmen; particularly those of that dexterous hair-splitter, and eagle-eyed Doctor Thomas Aquinas, whose Sums he read with the most attentive consideration, and thoroughly mastered. And we are informed, that he read over Augustine's works five times. Beside, he perused many other eminent writers, both ancient and modern. By this laborious course, he acquired that large fund of solid and useful learning, which enabled him to discharge with great ability, and with much reputation, the duties of the several offices to which he was afterward called.

Though his reading was very extensive, and his intel-

a Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. iv. p. 326. 3d edit. London.

lectual treasures were great, yet he never affected quotations, but contented himself with a plain and familiar manner of speaking, which did not at all savour of the schools. His mind was greatly enriched with valuable stores of profitable knowledge, which he did not lock up, but freely and generously communicated them for the benefit of others. And in all his reading and studies, he much preferred the Holy Scriptures, *which are able to make us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.* He read part of them daily, and the Commentators upon them. And, by frequently reading the Sacred Writings, and meditating upon them, he appears to have early imbibed a great veneration for them, and to have had his mind amply enriched with their most precious truths. And it is worthy of our observation, that the most eminent reformers, in the Christian Church, have always devoted themselves to the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures. When the famous Luther commenced a Doctor of Divinity, in the University of Wittemberg, on the 19th of October, in the year 1512; and his sentiments underwent a great change, he devoted himself entirely to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Fathers, especially of Augustine.[a] The celebrated Calvin also devoted himself to the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures, when he discovered the abominations of the Romish church, and became acquainted with the Reformed Religion.[b] And the illustrious John Knox, the prime Instrument, under God, of spreading and of establishing the Reformed Religion in Scotland, pursued the same plan. He took his degrees, and was admitted into orders, when very young. He then applied himself unto the reading of the Fathers, particularly the writings of Jerome and of Augustine. At length, he became an earnest and close student of the Holy Scriptures, by which, through the blessing of Heaven, he was well informed respecting *the truth as it is in Jesus.* Upon obtaining this highly useful, and truly important, informa-

a Beausobre's Hist. Reformation, Book i. An. 1517.
b Clark's Marrow of Eccl. Hist. under Calvin.

tion, he very willingly and cheerfully embraced the truth, most freely and boldly confessed it, and with indefatigable zeal and great faithfulness, taught it unto others.[a]

After Bishop Felton's death, in the year 1626, Mr Calamy was chosen one of the Lecturers of Edmund's-Bury, commonly called Bury, in the county of Suffolk, where he had Mr Burroughs as his fellow-labourer. Having resigned the Vicarage of Swaffham, about the time that he removed to Bury, he now applied himself wholly to the discharge of the duties of his function at Bury, where he continued about ten years. Some writers say, that during his residence in this place, he distinguished himself for the most part as a strict Conformist: but himself and others say the contrary. Wood has taken considerable pains to shew, that he altered his opinion respecting Church-government and ceremonies:[b] and Mr Walker hints, that he was once as high in his opinions as Archbishop Laud. Their testimonies, however, will not affect his character much, if the authors themselves, and the authorities which they produce, are fairly answered. The author of a quarto pamphlet, printed at Oxford, in the year 1643, entitled, *Sober Sadness; or, Historical Observations upon the Pretences, Proceedings, and Designs, of a prevailing Party, in both Houses of Parliament*, &c. says, "That Mr Calamy complied with Bishop Wren, his Diocesan, preached in his surplice and hood, read prayers at the rails, bowed at the name of Jesus, and undertook to satisfy and reduce such as scrupled at these ceremonies." Page 5. And Mr Henry Burton, in a pamphlet, printed at London, in 1646, entitled, *Truth still Truth, though shut out of Doors*, asserts nearly the same things. In answer to which, Mr Calamy published *A Just and Necessary Apology against an Unjust Invective, published by Mr Henry Burton*, in a late book of his. In this apology, Mr Calamy affirms, "That during the time he was at Edmund's-Bury, he never bowed to, or toward the Altar, to, or toward the East, never read

a Clark's Marrow of Eccl. Hist. under J. Knox.
b Wood's Fasti. Oxon. vol. i. col. clxxxi.

that wicked Book of Sports upon the Lord's day, never read prayers at the high altar, at the upper end of the church, where the people could not hear. I have often preached against innovations; and once I did it, at a public visitation, and was called in question for my labour: I never justified the oath *ex officio*, nor ever prosecuted any man or woman at the High commission; I never, to my best remembrance, preached at any time for the justification of any innovations. In some few things, I confess, I did conform, according to the light I then had, out of the uprightness of my heart." Page 8. Whoever considers this impartially, and that Mr Calamy was only Lecturer at Edmund's-Bury, will be readily inclined to think, that these writers were mistaken respecting his conformity, or might, perhaps, be misled by misrepresentations, which were very common in those days. The truth seems to be, that he was unwilling to oppose ceremonies, or to create disturbances in the church respecting them, so long as this might be avoided, with *a conscience void of offence, toward God, and toward men.* But when Bishop Wren's Articles, and the reading of the detestable Book of Sports, were enforced, he found himself obliged to alter his conduct. He now resolved not only to avoid conforming for time to come, but he also avowed his dissent, and made a public apology for his former behaviour from the pulpit, with equal modesty, freedom, and candour.[a] He, with about thirty other worthy Ministers, were driven out of the Diocese, by Bishop Wren's Visitation-articles, and the unhallowed *Book of Sports.*[b] With these abominations, he could not comply. Pure and ardent zeal for the honour of his royal Master, and the most generous love to the souls of his fellow-creatures, were happily united in him, and very feelingly expressed in the native language of a warm and upright heart.

Mr Calamy was now considered, and eminently distinguished, as an undisguised and active Nonconformist, of

a See his Apol. 1646. 4to.

b Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. under Calamy, Dr Calamy's Account, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 5.

great respectability. And, with a determined courage, he appeared as a good and faithful soldier of Jesus Christ, *contending earnestly for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.* Like his brethren in the same cause, he was *persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.* Being in great favour with the famous Earl of Essex, he presented him to the living of Rochford, a Market-town in the marshes of Essex, a Rectory of considerable value, but it proved a fatal present to Mr Calamy; for removing from one of the best and most wholesome airs in England, that of Edmund's-Bury, into the Hundreds and marshes of Essex, he contracted such an illness, as broke his constitution, and left behind it a dizziness in his head, which he complained of as long as he lived.

Upon the death of Dr Stoughton, he was chosen Minister of Mary Aldermanbury, London, in the year 1639. He is mentioned among the ministers of Aldermanbury, by Newcourt.[a] Here he soon acquired a very shining reputation. He now made a conspicuous appearance, and was eminently distinguished, by taking an active part, and a very large share, in the great controversy respecting Church-government, which was then greatly agitated. In July 1639, he was incorporated of the University of Oxford, which, however, did not take him off from those with whom he was engaged.[b] In the year 1640, he was employed with some other writers in the composition of that very famous book, entitled, "Smectymnuus," which both Mr Calamy himself and others say gave the first deadly blow to Episcopacy in England. The mysterious word *Smectymnuus* is made up of the first letters of the names of the authors, who were, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Mathew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. This treatise is allowed to have been very well written, and therefore we find frequent references thereto in the defences and apologies for Non-

a Newcourt's Repertorium Eccl. vol. i. page 918. as with Dr Calamy, Cont. vol. i. p. 7.

b Wood's Fasti. vol. i.

conformity which were afterward published. The title is: *An Answer to a Book entitled, An Humble Remonstrance; in which, the Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy is discussed: and Queries propounded concerning both. The Parity of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture demonstrated. The occasion of their Imparity in Antiquity discovered. The Disparity of the Ancient and our Modern Bishops manifested. The Antiquity of Ruling Elders in the Church vindicated. The Prelatical Church bounded.* Written by Smectymnuus. Printed in the year 1641. 4to. containing with the Appendix or Postscript 94 pages. It is divided into eighteen sections; and then follow sixteen queries respecting Episcopacy, with a postscript. Doctor Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, who wrote the Humble Remonstrance, published a vindication of it in answer to this book; and to this answer the Smectymnuus replied. An appeal was now made to the legislature, or high court of Parliament, on both sides, which may be viewed as containing the substance and merits of the controversy.[a] Beside, of this answer of Smectymnuus a Confutation was attempted by the learned Usher: and to the Confutation, the celebrated English poet, Mr John Milton, who was engaged in the controversies of those times, and now on the side of the Puritans and Presbyterians, published a Reply, entitled, "Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apostolical Times, by virtue of those testimonies which are alledged to that purpose in some late treatises, one whereof goes under the name of James Lord Bishop of Armagh."[b]—Smectymnuus was of such reputation, that it has been considered, not only by the Nonconformists, but also by Dr Wilkins, afterward the famous Bishop of Chester, in his Ecclesiastes, as a capital work against Episcopacy. As such it is mentioned by Dr Calamy, in his Postscript to the Preface of his Abridgement to Mr Baxter's Life, in which Postscript, he professes to instruct the inquisitive reader respecting the

a See Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. viii.
b Johnson's Lives of English Poets, vol. i. Milton.

books most proper to be read, in order to have a true notion of the merits of Nonconformity. And Mr Neal considers this work in the same light.[a] Mr Calamy had now acquired a shining reputation, in the metropolis. He was eminently distinguished by his intrepid integrity, ministerial faithfulness, solid learning, and genuine piety. He made vigorous efforts, for the progress of useful knowledge among mankind, in overthrowing error, and in defending and propagating truth. He was made an instrument of great usefulness in London, at this time; and highly esteemed, especially by the Presbyterians. In the year 1641, he was appointed by the House of Lords a member of the Sub-committee for accommodating Ecclesiastical matters, which consisted of very eminent Divines.[b]

When the Protestants in Ireland were overwhelmed with dreadful calamities, by the unrelenting barbarity of the Roman Catholics, and could hardly subsist without some immediate help from their neighbours, a very liberal collection was advanced for them, at the church of Aldermanbury, upon Mr Calamy's representation of their distressed condition, and his very pathetic motion in their behalf. As his name was now regarded with much veneration in London, and he made an eminent appearance for the relief of misery, the collection which was gathered, at this time, at the doors of his church, and in the houses of the parishioners, amounted to between six and seven hundred pounds at least.[c] A large sum for one parish at that time. This instance of Mr Calamy's pure and active benevolence deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as every kind of distinguished excellence should be. His heart was richly stored with that liberality which marks the Christian and the Gentleman. Mr Calamy having now given some signal proofs of his superior abilities as a divine; and his talents having become so conspicuous as to attract the notice of many, he was appointed a

a Hist. Purit. vol. ii.
b Fuller's Ch. Hist. Cent. xvii. p. 174.
c Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 74.

Member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He was a very active man in all their proceedings; and eminently distinguished both by his learning and moderation.

> " Honour unchang'd, a principle profest,
> Fix'd to one side, but moderate to the rest."

In the important contest, in that famous Assembly, respecting Ruling Elders in the church, when several eminent Divines of that brilliant constellation were positively against the institution of any such officer by divine right, as Dr Smith, Dr Temple, Messrs Gataker, Vines, Price, Hall, and others, Mr Calamy, with many more, appeared for the divine institution of the ruling elder, and reasoned bravely for it. In this serious debate, all were willing to admit ruling elders in a prudential way; but this was peremptorily rejected by others, as very dangerous.[a]

Mr Calamy was one of the most popular preachers in London; and a frequent preacher before the Members of the Long Parliament, for which his memory has been very severely treated.[b] He was also one of the Cornhill Lecturers. He was a very zealous and steadfast Covenanter. He was the first who did openly defend, before a Committee of Parliament, that in the Holy Scriptures a Bishop and a Presbyter were one, as Wood affirms. He was generally accounted a firm Presbyterian. He had very great interest in the city of London; and preached to a numerous and respectable audience, twenty years, composed of the most eminent citizens, and even persons of quality. And seldom so few as sixty coaches came to the church where he preached. He was one of those ministers of the city, who declared against the proceedings of the army in 1648, testifying his disapprobation of the violent measures which brought on the King's death, an

a Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 401.

b Wood's Fasti. Oxon. vol. 1. Col. 281. Echard's Hist. Eng. vol. iii. p. 178.

event which he ardently deprecated. The representation of the London-ministers to the General of the army, and his Council of war, presented 18th Jan. 1648, was drawn up to enforce what Mr Calamy, and some other ministers of the same persuasion, had delivered in two conferences; the first with the General and his Council, the second with the chief Officers of the army. Collier, in his Church-History, styles this, an instance of handsome plain-dealing, and a bold reprimand of a victorious army.

In Cromwell's time, Mr Calamy lived as privately and quietly as he could: but he sometimes opposed the Protector's measures. It is said, in the Life of Oliver Cromwell, as with Dr Calamy, that Harry Nevill, who was one of the Council of State, used to tell the following anecdote upon his own knowledge. Cromwell, having a design to set up himself, and bring the crown upon his own head, sent for some of the chief of the Divines in the city, as if he accounted it a matter of conscience to be determined by their advice. Among these was the leading Mr Calamy, who very boldly opposed the project of Cromwell's single government, and offered to prove that it was both *unlawful and impracticable*, that one man should assume the government of the country. Cromwell answered readily upon the first head of *unlawful*, and appealed to the safety of the nation being the supreme law. But says he, pray, Mr Calamy, why is it *impracticable?* He replied; telling him, Oh, it is against the voice of the nation; there will be nine in ten against you. Very well, replied Cromwell; but what if I should disarm the nine, and put the sword in the tenth man's hand, would not that do the business?[a] Mr Calamy readily concurred with the Presbyterian party, in opposing the Sectaries, in Cromwell's time. He was much against them; and his influence was at that time highly beneficial.

In the year 1659, he concurred with the Earl of Manchester, and other eminent men, in encouraging and persuading General Monk to bring in the King, in order

a Calamy's Cont. vol. i. p. 8. Anecdotes, vol. i.

to put an end to the public confusions. He had a considerable hand in bringing home the King, but he soon repented having done it without a previous treaty. He preached before the Parliament the day before they voted the King home, and was one of those Divines who were sent over to the King in Holland. He was reckoned to have the greatest interest in court, city, and country, of any of the ministers, and therefore he was very much caressed at first; but he soon saw the design and tendency of things. As an evidence of this, having General Monk for his auditor in his own church soon after the King's restoration, on a sacrament-day, he had occasion to speak of *filthy lucre;* "And why, said he, is it called *filthy*, but because it makes men do base and *filthy* things? Some men, said he, will betray three kingdoms for *filthy lucre's* sake." Saying this, he threw his handkerchief, which he generally waved up and down while he was preaching, toward the General's pew. He commonly spoke his sentiments with great freedom, and did not fear man.

In the year 1660, after the King was restored, he was encouraged by the Earl of Manchester, who was made Lord Chamberlain, and other great men at court, to hope for considerable favour, both for himself and for his brethren In June that year, he was sworn Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, as some other ministers also, who were counted Presbyterians. But none of them preached more than once before the King in that capacity. About this time, Mr Calamy was often with his Majesty at the Chamberlain's lodgings, or elsewhere; and was always smiled on, and kindly received. He had a chief hand in drawing up the Proposals made at that time to the King, respecting Church-government, which laid the foundation of the Savoy-conference: and was also concerned in the concessions which were made by the Declaration dated Oct. 25th, the same year. And being one of the Commissioners appointed, he was employed with others, in drawing up *Exceptions against the Liturgy*, which were then delivered; and also the *Reply to the Reasons of the Episcopal Divines*, against the

Exceptions which were given in by the Presbyterians, and the *Petition for Peace*, which was drawn up in a very moving strain, and not duly considered. In 1661, he was one of those chosen by the Ministers of London to represent them in *Convocation*, but was not allowed to sit there. He attended the several meetings at the Savoy, and thought it his duty to do what he could in order to an accommodation, though without any effect.

Mr Calamy preached his Farewell Sermon, 17th of August 1662, a week before the Act of Uniformity took place, from 2 Sam. xxiv. 14. *And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let us fall now into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great, and let me not fall into the hand of man.* It may not be amiss, to give a brief abstract of this discourse, as a specimen of the author's spirit and manner. The chief design of it is to illustrate and improve this point, "That sin brings persons and nations into great perplexities." He observes, That beside many outward troubles, this brings a spiritual famine upon a land: a famine of the word.—Use 1. This reproves those who commit sin to avoid perplexity—who to escape suffering will do any thing, who will be sure to be of the religion that is uppermost, be what it will. Consider—It is sin only that makes trouble to deserve the name. There is more evil in the least sin, than in the greatest calamity. Whosoever goes out of God's way to avoid danger, shall meet with greater danger. 2. This should teach us above all things, to abhor sin. Cautions against twelve sins, among which, slighting the gospel. 3. What cause to fear that God should bring this nation into great distress? And what reason, you of this congregation and parish have to expect to be brought into great straits, because of your unfruitfulness under the means of grace? You have long enjoyed the gospel. —Are there not some of you who begin to loathe the manna, and to look back to Egypt? Have not some of you *itching ears* who would fain have a preacher who would feed you with dainty phrases; and who begin not to care for a Minister that unrips your consciences, and speaks to your hearts: some who by often hearing sermons

are become sermon proof? There is hardly any way to raise the price of the gospel-ministry, but the want of it. —I may not flatter you who have not profited by it. You may justly expect God may bring you into straits, and take away the gospel from you: may take away your Ministers by death or otherwise. What God will do with you I know not: a few weeks will determine. He can make a great change in a little time. We leave all to him. But let me commend one text of Scripture to you. Jer. xiii. 16, 17. *Give glory to the Lord your God, before he cause darkness, and before your feet stumble*, &c. *But if ye will not hear, my soul shall weep in secret places for you—because the Lord's flock is carried captive.* Give glory to God by confessing and repenting of your sins, before darkness come; and who knoweth but that may prevent that darkness.—Having consulted with his great friends at court, a Petition was drawn up to the King, and signed by a considerable number of the Ministers in and about the city, who were affected with the Act of Uniformity. It was in the following words.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Humble Petition of several Ministers in your City of London.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

" Upon former experience of your Majesty's tenderness and indulgence to your obedient and loyal subjects, in which number we can with all clearness reckon ourselves, we some of the Ministers within your City of London, who are likely by the late Act of Uniformity to be cast out of all public service in the ministry, because we cannot in conscience conform to all things required in the said Act, have taken the boldness humbly to cast ourselves and concernments at your Majesty's feet, desiring that of your Princely Wisdom and Compassion, you would take some effectual course whereby we may be continued in the exercise of our ministry, to teach your people obedience to God and your Majesty. And we doubt not but by our dutiful and peaceable carriage

therein, we shall render ourselves not altogether unworthy of so great a favour."

This Petition was presented to his Majesty, Aug. 27th, three days after the Act took place, by Mr Calamy, Dr Manton, Dr Bates, and others. And Mr Calamy made a speech upon the occasion, intimating that those of his persuasion were ready to enter the list with any, for their fidelity to his Majesty, and did little expect to be dealt with as they had been: and they were now come to his Majesty's feet, as the last application they should make, &c. His Majesty promised that he would consider their business. And the very next day the matter was fully debated in Council, his Majesty himself being present, who was pleased to declare, that he intended an *indulgence*, if it were at all feasible. The great friends of the silenced Ministers, whose hopes were much encouraged by a variety of specious promises, were now allowed to suggest freely their reasons, against putting the Act in execution; and they argued most strenuously. But Dr Sheldon, Bishop of London, in a warm speech, declared, that it was now too late to think of suspending that law; that he had already, in obedience to it, ejected such of his Clergy as would not comply with it; and should they now be restored after they were thus exasperated, he must expect to feel the effects of their resentment, and should never be able to maintain his Episcopal authority among such a Clergy, who would not fail to insult him as their enemy, being countenanced by the court.—Should the Sacred Authority of this law be now suspended, it would render the Legislature ridiculous and contemptible. And if the importunity of such disaffected people were a sufficient reason to humour them, neither the church nor state would ever be free from distractions and convulsions. And upon the whole it was carried, that no *indulgence* at all should be granted.[a]

The justly celebrated Mr Calamy was cast out from Aldermanbury by the Act of Uniformity. He refused a

a Calamy's Cont. vol. i. p. 9, 10, 11.

Bishoprick, because he could not have it upon the terms of the King's Declaration; and he considered several things in the Conformity to be intolerable sins, and therefore he could not comply. Like Moses who *refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter: Choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.*—Bishop Wilkins had such an opinion of his knowledge in the controversy respecting Church-government, that he heartily wished he could have conformed, that he might have confronted the bold and confident assertors of the *Divine right* of Episcopacy in the Convocation, in which he was not allowed to sit, though he was chosen one of the Clerks for the city.[a] He preserved his temper and moderation after he was ejected, and lived pretty much retired. Upon the 28th of Dec. after the Act passed, Mr Calamy went to the church of Aldermanbury, where he formerly preached, with an intention to be a hearer; but he who was expected to preach at that time failed; and to prevent a disappointment, and answer the importunity of the people who were assembled, Mr Calamy preached on that occasion from 1 Sam. iv. 13. respecting old Eli's concern for the Ark of God. This sermon was printed, though unpremeditated, and may be seen in the Collection of Farewell Sermons. It discovers much concern for true religion, which was then in no small danger. Upon this, the worthy Author was put into Newgate-prison, by the warrant of the Lord Mayor, as a breaker of the Act of Uniformity, the great Dagon in these times of tyranny, and much like the *golden image* which was set up in the Plains of Dura, in the province of Babylon. As Paul when at Rome, Mr Calamy was now, *A prisoner of Jesus Christ.—Behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.* Innocence has often the hard lot to be thrust into a prison.—A Popish lady passing through the city during Mr Calamy's confinement, found

a Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 6.

it difficult to get along Newgate-street, on account of the many coaches attending there. Being surprised at this incident, curiosity led her to enquire into the occasion of this stoppage, and the number of coaches, where she did not expect them. The people who were standing by, who seemed greatly concerned and disturbed, informed her, that one Mr Calamy, a person much beloved and respected, was imprisoned there for a single sermon. This so struck the Lady, that she took the first opportunity of waiting upon the King at Whitehall, and frankly told him the whole affair; expressing, at the same time, her apprehensions that, if such steps were taken, his Majesty would lose the affections of the city, which might be attended with very bad effects. It was partly in consequence of this representation that Mr Calamy was soon discharged from prison, by the King's express order.[a] And the general resentment of this severity, with the many respectable persons who visited Mr Calamy in Newgate, may also be considered as partly contributing to his release. This being afterward complained of in the House of Commons, it was signified in the House that his release from imprisonment was not owing to the sole command of the King, but to a deficiency in the Act of Parliament, that had not fully provided for his longer confinement. Whereupon the following entry was made in their Journal: Die Jovis, Feb. 19th, 1662, or —63. "Upon complaint made to this House, that Mr Calamy being committed to Prison, upon Breach of the Act of Uniformity, was discharged upon pretence of some defect in the Act: Resolved, That it be referred to a Committee to look into the Act of Uniformity, as to the matter in question, and to see whether the same be defective, and wherein." And soon after this, a Committee was appointed, *to bring in the Reasons of the House, for their advice to the King against a Toleration, with an Address to his Majesty.* And thus an effectual door was opened for all that most dreadful severity which followed.[b] Dr Robert Wilde, a

a Biogr. Britan. vol. iii. fol. 2 edit. Calamy.
b Calamy's Cont. vol. i. p. 12.

Poet among the Nonconformists of that period, published a copy of verses on the occasion of Mr Calamy's imprisonment in Newgate, which was spread through the kingdom. It follows.

" This page I send you, Sir, your *Newgate* fate,
Not to condole, but to congratulate.
I envy not our mitred men, their places,
Their rich preferments, nor their richer *faces:*
To see them steeple upon steeple set,
As if they meant that way to Heaven to get.
I can behold them take into their gills,
A dose of churches, as men swallow pills,
And never grieve at it: Let them swim in wine
While others drown in tears, I'll not repine.
But my heart truly grudges, (I confess)
That you thus loaded are with happiness;
For so it is: And you more blessed are
In *Peter's* chain, than if you sat in's chair.
One sermon hath preferr'd you so much honour,
A man could scarce have had from Bishop *Bonner.*
Whilst we, your brethren, poor erraticks be,
You are a glorious fixed star we see:
Hundreds of us turn'd out of house and home;
To a safe habitation you are come.
What though it be a gaol? shame and disgrace
Rise only from the crime, not from the place.
Who thinks reproach or injury is done
By an eclipse, to the unspotted *sun?*
He only by that black upon his brow,
Allures spectators more; and so do you.
Let me find honey, though upon a rod,
And prize the prison, where my keeper's God.
Newgate or *Hell* were *Heaven*, if Christ were there:
He made the stable so, and sepulchre.
Indeed the place did for your presence call:
Prisons do want perfuming most of all.
Thanks to the *Bishop*, and his good Lord *Mayor*,
Who turn'd the den of thieves to a House of Prayer.

And may some thief by you converted be,
Like him who suffered in Christ's company.
Now, would I had a sight of your *mittimus;*
Fain would I know how you are dealt with thus.
Jaylor, set forth your prisoner at the bar.
Sir, you shall hear what your offences are.
First, It's proved, that you being dead in law,
(As if you car'd not for that death a straw.)
Did walk and haunt your church, as if you'ld scare
Away the reader and his *Common Prayer:*
Nay, 'twill be proved you did not only walk,
But like a *Puritan*, your *Ghost* did talk.
Dead, and yet preach! these *Presbyterian* slaves
Will not give over preaching in their graves.
Item, You play'd the thief; and if't be so,
Good reason, Sir. to *Newgate* you should go:
And now you're there, some dare to swear you are,
The greatest pick-pocket that e're came there.
Your wife, no better than yourself you make,
She's the receiver of each purse you take.
But your great theft you acted in your church,
I do not mean you did your sermon lurch,
That's crime *canonical*, but you did pray
And preach, so that you stole men's hearts away.
So that good man to whom your place doth fall,
Will find they have no heart for him at all.
This felony deserved imprisonment;
What can't you Nonconformists be content
Sermons to make, except you preach them too?
They that your places have, this work can't do.
Thirdly, 'Tis proved, when you pray most devout
For all good men, you leave the *bishops* out.
This makes Seer *Sheldon* by his powerful spell,
Conjure and lay you safe in *Newgate*-Hell:
Would I were there too, I should like it well.
I would you durst swapt punishment with me;
Pain makes me fitter for the company
Of roaring boys: and you may lie in bed,
Now your name's up; pray do it in my stead.

And if it be deny'd us to change places,
Let us for sympathy compare our cases;
For if in suffering we both agree,
Sir, I may challange you to pity me:
I am the older gaol bird; my hard fate
Hath kept me twenty years in *Cripplegate;*
Old *Bishop Gout*, that Lordly proud disease,
Took my fat body for his Diocese;
Where he keeps court, there visits every limb,
And makes them (*Levite*-like) conform to him;
Severely he doth article each joint,
And makes enquiry into every point.
A bitter enemy to preaching, he
Hath half a year sometimes suspended me;
And if he find me painful in my station,
Down I am sure to go, next visitation.
He binds up, looseth; sets up, and pulls down;
Pretends he draws ill humours from the crown:
But I am sure he maketh such a do,
His humours trouble head and members too.
He hath me now in hand, and ere he goes,
I fear for hereticks, he'll burn my toes.
Oh! I would give all I am worth, a fee,
That from his jurisdiction I were free.
Now, Sir, you find our sufferings do agree,
One *Bishop* clapt up you, another me:
But oh! the difference too is very great,
You are allow'd to walk, to drink, to eat;
I want them all, and never a penny get.
And though you be debarr'd your liberty,
Yet all your visitors I hope are free:
Good men, good women, and good angels come,
And make your prison better than your home.
Now may it be so, till your foes repent,
They gave you such a rich imprisonment.
May for the greater comfort of your lives,
Your lying-in be better than your wives.
May you a thousand friendly papers see,
And none prove empty except this from me.

And if you stay, may I come keep your door,
Then farewell *Parsonage*, I shall neer be poor."

Mr Calamy lived to see the dreadful fire of London, which broke out in the year 1666, and destroyed a great part of the city. This fire is said to have over-run 373 acres of ground within the walls, and to have burned 13,200 houses, 89 parish churches, beside chapels, and that only eleven parishes within the walls were left standing.[a] This awful sight is said to have broken his heart. "The conflagration of a city, with all its tumults of concomitant distress, is one of the most dreadful spectacles which this world can offer to human eyes."[b] This most dreadful spectacle very much affected our author. He was driven through the ruins of the city in a coach, and upon seeing its very desolate condition, his affectionate mind received very deep impressions; and he went home, and never came out of his chamber again, but died within a month, in Oct. 1666, in the 67th year of his age.

Mr Calamy was well acquainted with the subjects appropriate to his profession: as a preacher, he was plain and practical; and he boldly avowed his sentiments on all necessary occasions. He generally had the chair among the ministers of the city in their meetings, and was highly esteemed for his prudence and good conduct.

Mr Calamy's writings, though not numerous, are sufficient to maintain his reputation, and to transmit his name, and make his abilities known to posterity. He was one of the authors of the famous book, which was entitled, *Smectymnuus*, above-mentioned. He had also a hand in drawing up the *Vindication of the Presbyterial Government and Ministry*, Printed in the year 1650, and the *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici, et Anglicani*, Printed in the year 1654. He has several sermons extant, as

a Granger's Wonderful Museum, vol. ii.
b Johnson.

1. *England's Looking-glass:* a sermon from Jer. xviii. 7—10. before the House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, 22d Dec. 1641. 4to. pp. 62. London, 1642. The design is to shew, that national repentance will divert, and national sins draw down, national judgments.

2. *God's Free Mercy to England:* a sermon from Ezek. xxxvi. 32. before the Commons, at their solemn Fast, 23d Feb. 1641. 4to. London, 1642. The intention of this sermon is, to represent England's mercies, as precious and powerful motives and means of England's humiliation and reformation.

3. *The Nobleman's Pattern of true and real thankfulness:* a thanksgiving sermon from Josh. xxiv. 15. before the House of Lords, 15th June, 1643. 4to. pp. 59. London, 1643.

4. *England's Antidote against the Plague of Civil War:* a sermon from Acts xvii. 30. before the House of Commons, on their solemn Fast, 22d Oct. 1644. 4to. pp. 45. London, 1645.

5. *An Indictment against England because of her self-murdering Divisions; with an Exhortation to Concord:* a sermon preached from Mat. xii. 25. to the House of Lords, on the monthly Fast, 25th Dec. 1644. 4to pp. 41. London, 1645. The monthly Fast, when the sermon was preached, was on Christmas-day. Respecting that day, Mr Calamy, in his sermon, has the following expressions. "This day is commonly called *The Feast of Christ's Nativity*, or, *Christmas-day;* a day that has formerly been much abused to *superstition, and profaneness.* It is not easy to say, whether the superstition has been greater, or the profaneness. I have known some who have preferred *Christmas day* to the *Lord's-day.* I have known those who would be sure to receive the sacrament upon Christmas-day, though they did not receive it all the year after.—Some persons, though they did not play at cards all the year long, yet they must play at Christmas; thereby, it seems, to keep in memory the birth of Christ. This, and much more hath been the profanation of this Feast. And truly I think that the superstition and profanation of this day is so rooted into it, as that there is

no way to reform it, but by dealing with it as Hezekiah did with the brazen serpent. This year God, by his Providence, has buried this *Feast* in a *Fast*, and I hope it will never rise again. You have set out, Right Honourable, a strict order for keeping the Fast, and you are here this day to observe your own order, and I hope you will do it strictly. The necessities of the times are great; never more need of prayer and fasting. The Lord give us grace to be humbled on this day of humiliation for all our own and England's sins, and especially for the old superstition, and profanation of this Feast."

6. *The Great Danger of Covenant-refusing, and Covenant-breaking:* a sermon preached from 2 Tim. iii. 3. —*Truce-breakers;* or, *Covenant-breakers*, on the 14th of Jan. 1645—46, before the Lord Mayor of the city of London, with the Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common Council of that city, at their taking the Solemn League and Covenant, at Michael Bassingshaw, London. 4to. pp. 40. London, 1646. This sermon was also printed at Edinburgh, in the year of Covenant-breaking, in a small collection, entitled, *A Phenix.*[a] I saw one copy of the Phenix, including Mr Calamy's sermon, at London, in the year 1797. The substance of this sermon was printed in the year 1706. We are not told where; but I suppose that it might be at Edinburgh, because I have generally seen this edition in Scotland, and it is often bound with sermons of the same size, printed that year at Edinburgh. It was also printed at Glasgow, in 1741; and again in 1799, in a collection of sermons at taking the Covenant. This famous sermon has been printed at London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. And it's illustrious author was a very respectable and steadfast covenanter, always abounding in the work of the Lord.

a This contains, beside a very short epistle to the reader, The Solemn League and Covenant, subscribed by many of the House of Commons.—The ordinance of the Commons, for the public reading of this Covenant, in every church and congregation within the kingdom.—The form of the coronation of King Charles II. at Scoon, 1 Jan. 1651, with Mr Douglas's sermon on that occasion.—The King's Declaration to all his loving subjects in Scotland, 1650; and Mr Calamy's sermon.

7. *The Door of Truth Opened: A Just and Necessary Apology against an Unjust Invective* of Mr Henry Burton. 4to. London, 1646. Containing a Vindication of himself from Mr Burton's Calumnies.

8. *The Saints' Rest;* or, *Their Happy Sleep in Death:* a sermon from Acts vii. 60. at Aldermanbury, London, 24th Aug. 1651, being the next Lord's-day after Mr Love's death. London, 1653.

9. *The Doctrine of the Body's Fragility; with a Divine Project, discovering how to make these vile bodies of ours glorious by getting gracious souls:* a sermon preached from Phil. iii. 21. at the funeral of Dr Samuel Bolton. London, 1655.

10. *The Monster of sinful self-seeking anatomized; together with a description of the heavenly and blessed self-seeking:* a sermon from Phil. ii. 21. at Paul's, Dec. 10th 1654. 4to. pp. 34. London, 1655.

11. A sermon at the funeral of the Earl of Warwick, 1658.

12. A sermon from Isai. lvii. 1. at the funeral of Mr Simeon Ashe, preached at St Austin's, London, Aug. 23d 1662. London, 1662. I have seen in the county of Surrey, England, a second edition of this sermon, which was annexed to the collection of Farewell Sermons, by the London Ministers, printed in the year 1662. His Farewell Sermon, and that on the 28th of Dec. above mentioned. London, 1662—1663.

The Godly Man's Ark, or City of Refuge, in the day of his Distress. This is a small book, containing five sermons from Psal. cxix. 92. with an epistle dedicatory to the inhabitants of Aldermanbury parish, with all others who attend constantly upon the Word of God there preached, and more especially to such of them who are admitted to partake of the Lord's supper there administered. The first of these sermons was preached at the funeral of Mrs Elizabeth Moore; and the other four were afterward preached, and they were all published, for the support and consolation of the saints of God in the hour of tribulation. Mrs Moore's Evidences for Heaven, which were composed and collected by her in

the time of her health, for her comfort in the time of sickness, are annexed. All the parts of this work are really excellent, and justly entitled to a serious perusal. They will amply repay the well-disposed reader. The book has been very popular. I have not been able to procure a copy of the first edition, after a close search for several years; and therefore I cannot inform the reader when it was first printed. But I have seen a copy of each of the following editions. The 3d edition, London, 1661.—The 4th edition, London, 1664.—The 7th edition, London, 1672.—The 8th edition, London, 1682.—The 17th edition, London, 1693.—The 18th edition, 1709.

He has a sermon in the Morning-Exercise at St Giles's upon the Resurrection of the Dead, from Acts xxvi. 8. but I cannot at this time give any particular account of it. And after his death, there was a *Treatise of Meditation*, printed in a hidden way; not by his son, nor from his manuscript, but from imperfect notes which were taken by a hearer. He also wrote and subscribed several prefaces to the works of others; as to pieces of Mr Christopher Love, and to Mr John Ball's Treatise of the Covenant of Grace, and Mr Hutcheson's Exposition of John's Gospel, and of the small Prophets. Edmund Calamy is a name of great celebrity; and it has been transmitted to posterity through several channels.*

Mr Calamy's eldest son was ejected from Moreton, in the county of Essex, by the Act of Uniformity. His grand-son, Dr Edmund Calamy, a Dissenting Divine of great eminence, is well known by his learned works.

* See Wood's Ath. Oxon. Calamy's Account & Cont. Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. Biographical Dict. Biogr. Brit. & Gen. Biogr. vol. ii. London, 1801.

WILLIAM CARTER,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN LONDON, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

WILLIAM CARTER was educated in Cambridge, and afterward he became a very popular preacher in London. He was a good scholar, a person of great seriousness; and though but a young man, he was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. After some time, he joined the Independents, and became one of the Dissenting Brethren, in that Assembly.[a] He was one of those members in the Assembly who appeared for the divine institution of a doctor in every congregation, as well as a pastor. Mr Robert Baillie, one of the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland to that Assembly, speaking of his arrival there with his brethren, says: "At our first coming, we found them in a very sharp debate anent the office of doctors. The Independent men, whereof there are some ten or eleven in the Synod, many of them very able men, as Thomas Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Bridge, Carter, Caryl, Phillips, Sterry, were for the divine institution of a doctor in every congregation as well as a pastor. To these the others were extremely opposite, and somewhat bitterly, pressing much the simple identity of pastors and doctors. Mr Henderson travelled between them, and drew on a committee for accommodation; in the whilk we agreed unanimously upon some six propositions, wherein the absolute necessity of a doctor in every congregation, and his divine institution, in formal terms, was eschewed; yet where two ministers can be had in one congregation, the one is allowed, according to his gift, to apply himself most to teaching, and the other to exhortation, according to the Scriptures.[b]

a See Life of William Bridge, pp. 140, 141.
b Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 401.

Mr Carter had offers of many places, but he refused them, not being satisfied with the parochial discipline of those times. Nevertheless, he laboured constantly in the Lord's vineyard, with indefatigable ardour. He was most attentive to the work of the ministry, *not seeking his own profit, but the profit of many, that they might be saved.* Having tasted that the Lord is gracious, he was unwilling to eat his spiritual morsels alone; but earnestly wished that others should be partakers of these sweet and satisfactory refreshments with himself. He ardently desired to advance the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and to promote the spiritual and eternal welfare of precious and immortal souls. He had learned cheerfully to sacrifice both his own humour and ease to the work and glory of his God and Saviour. He preached twice every Lord's-day to two large congregations in the city, beside Lectures on the work-days, and his other labours. Labouring night and day, he faithfully preached the glorious gospel of the grace of God to the inhabitants of London. *Being affectionately desirous of them, he willingly imparted to them, not the gospel of God only, but also his own soul, because they were exceedingly dear unto him. Having known the terrors of the Lord,* he had a very tender compassion for those thoughtless persons who had no pity for themselves. His pious soul mourned for them in secret places, and he was greatly grieved with the hardness of their hearts. He earnestly longed to impart unto them *some spiritual gift,* by which they might be *edified and established.* Having spent his time and strength, in endeavouring to save souls from death, he fell asleep in the Lord, about mid-summer, in the year 1658, and in the fifty-third year of his age.[a]

I have seen only one sermon of his, which is entitled, *Light in Darkness,* from Psal. lxv. 5. before the House of Commons, 24th Nov. 1647, at their solemn Fast. London, 1648.

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv.

THOMAS CARTER,

MINISTER OF DYNTON, IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, IN ENGLAND, AND A MEMBER OF THE FAMOUS ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

THOMAS CARTER was Minister of Dynton, in Buckinghamshire, in England; but I cannot give much account of him. He preached a sermon to the House of Commons, from Exod. xxxii. 9, 10. June 28th, 1643. This sermon is entitled, *Prayer's Prevalence for Israel's Safety.* 4to. pp. 38. London, 1643. In the epistle dedicatory to the House of Commons, he says: "In the fathomless depths of infinite goodness and wisdom, a design is laid through the clear discoveries of God's perfections and glory, to complete and accomplish the happiness of his servants. There is not any thing that befals them in this valley of tears, but by his contrivances, it brings with it a secret influence, and activity, to raise them to the mount of joy. I need not tell you how near the dust God's people of this kingdom were, they yet retain the dints of contempt and scorn: but hath not a strong reflection of God's power been cast upon us, from that very cloud under which we were? Are there not deliverances created for us, even beyond our hopes? Hath not the Lord raised you up, most Noble Senators, as once he did that pillar to the Israelites, to be a light to us, and darkness to our enemies?" This will give the reader a small specimen of the author. I am sorry, that I cannot give any farther account of Mr Thomas Carter.

JOSEPH CARYL, A. M.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN LONDON, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OE DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

JOSEPH CARYL was born of genteel parents in London, in the year 1602. He was educated in Exeter-College, Oxford, where he became a commoner or sojourner, in the beginning of 1621, aged seventeen years. Here, by the benefit of a good tutor, and the use of proper means, he soon became a noted disputant. In the year 1627, he proceeded in arts, and entering into holy orders, he exercised his function in, and near, Oxford for some time. Afterward, he became preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's-Inn, when he came to London, where he continued several years, and acquired a good reputation. The respectable and intelligent society of Lincoln's-Inn, have long been favoured with preachers of very great celebrity.—In the year 1642 and afterward, Mr Caryl was frequently called to preach to the Long Parliament at their solemn Fasts and Thanksgivings, and upon other occasions. Several very valuable sermons which he preached to the Parliament, and upon other occasions, were printed at that time, and are still extant.

Being now become very conspicuous, justly entitled to respectable notice, and eminently distinguished by his zeal for the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and for the Reformation, he was chosen to be a member of the venerable Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in the year 1643. In this and in every other station, he gave proofs of his great abilities, learning, piety, and modesty. He was a moderate Independent; and one of those Divines in this Assembly, who were for the divine institution of a doctor in every congregation as well as a pastor.[a]—He was appointed a Licenser of Books of

[a] See Memoirs of Mr Will. Bridge and Mr Will. Carter.

divinity, about this time. The first volume of Burroughs on Hosea has Mr Caryl's *imprimatur*, or, *it may be printed*, Aug. 10th, 1643.—He was an eminently zealous and judicious Covenanter, as very clearly appears from that excellent sermon, which he preached at Westminster; at that public Convention, which was ordered by the honourable House of Commons, for taking the Covenant, by all such persons, of all degrees, as willingly presented themselves, upon Friday, October 6th, 1643. This sermon claims the particular attention of all Covenanters, and subjects of God's moral government.

Mr Caryl became pastor of the church of Magnus, near London-bridge, in the year 1645. In this important station, he laboured several years with very singular diligence and success. He was much respected for his piety, integrity, amiable temper, and great fidelity in discharging the duties of the pastoral office. His faithful and eminent services were highly acceptable and useful, both to his own people and to the public. His discourses were well adapted to general edification; and in the delivery of them, he appeared like one who was really standing in the presence of Almighty God, animated with a true zeal for the Redeemer's glory, and for the everlasting salvation of immortal souls. He was esteemed one of the most judicious, learned, and respectable, ministers of the gospel of the age in which he lived; and one of the best expositors of the Holy Scriptures.—He and Mr Stephen Marshall were appointed chaplains to the commissioners, who were sent by the Parliament to the King, who was then at Newcastle, for an accommodation of peace. By easy journies, they accompanied the King and the commissioners to Holmby-house in Northamptonshire. Here his Majesty continued sometime without any of his chaplains in ordinary to wait upon him. Wood says, that the said ministers, Caryl and Marshall, upon the desire of the commissioners, did offer their service to preach before the King, and say grace at meals, but they were both by him denied, the King always saying grace himself, with an audible voice, standing under the state.[a]

a Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 512.

Mr Neal says, "While the King was at Holmby-house he was attended with great respect.—The Parliament appointed two of their clergy, Mr Caryl and Mr Marshall, to preach in the chapel mornings and afternoons on the Lord's-day, and perform the devotions of the chapel on week-days, but his Majesty never gave his attendance. He spent his Sundays in private; and though they waited at table he would not so much as admit them to ask a blessing."[a] In September 1648, Mr Caryl was one of those divines who went with other commissioners appointed by Parliament to the treaty of peace at Newport in the isle of Wight. The Parliament appointed five noblemen, ten commoners, and four divines to assist them in their religious debates; Messrs Caryl, Marshall, Vines, and Dr Seaman. Mr Caryl preached here on this occasion. Wood says, that in September 1650, he and John Owen, an Independent minister, were by order of Parliament sent to Scotland to attend Oliver Cromwell, who desired their company in order that he might receive comfort by their prayers and preachings.[b] In the year 1653, Mr Caryl was appointed one of the *Triers* for the approbation of ministers. And in 1654, he was constituted an assistant to the commissioners of London, who were appointed by Parliament for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient, ministers and school-masters. In 1659, he was sent into Scotland to give General Monk an account of the state of affairs in England, with a letter from Dr Owen, expressing their fears of the danger of their religious liberties upon a revolution of the government.—And Wood says, That on the 14th of March following, he was, with Edward Reynolds and others, appointed by act of Parliament to approve of and admit ministers according to the Presbyterian way. But that being nulled at the King's Restoration, he receded to his charge at Magnus, where he continued till the Act of Uniformity ejected him.

The worthy Mr Caryl was cast out from the church of

a Hist. Purit. vol. iii. chap. vii.
b Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 513.

Magnus, near London-bridge, by the Act of Uniformity, in the year 1662. On this very mournful occasion, he preached his farewell sermon at Magnus from Rev. iii. 4. —*And they shall walk with me in white; for they are worthy.* The author says, the design of this discourse, badly taken, is, to represent the honour and happiness of those, whom he had described in a former one, who like those *few names in Sardis, have not defiled their garments*, by a sinful conformity to a degenerate world. —They shall walk *with Christ.* They shall enjoy peace, and intimacy with him, as his friends, and be indulged with peculiar favour from him.—They shall walk *in white* garments: denoting their *state* of justification; but particularly their *character*, which is truly honourable in the sight both of God and of men: and also their inward *peace* and *joy;*—arising from the testimony of their own consciences—the witness of the Spirit—and a well grounded hope of future glory; in consequence of which they may now glory in tribulation. Thus it was with *Job*, chap. xvi. 19. and with *Paul*, 2 Cor. i. 12. What Christ says of the lily, may be said of those who keep themselves pure, in matters of faith, practice and worship; *Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.* To such persons may the words of the preacher be addressed, Eccl. ix. 7. *Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy,—for God now accepteth thy works: let thy garments be always white.* Though the world give thee nothing but the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction; and clothes thee in mourning, and causes thee to prophesy in sackcloth, yet be of good comfort; thou hast the fruit of thy labour: whether present or absent thou art accepted of God, therefore rejoice in it. Here is the happiness of those who keep themselves from a defiled and a defiling world. Hence he takes occasion to caution Christians against every thing that would wound their consciences and defile their garments. They who neglect this shall *walk in black*, in garments of mourning. He earnestly exhorts them to adopt the laudable resolution of that eminent believer, Job, chap. xxvii. 6. To maintain purity of heart and life, that angelic robe which

the world can neither strip off, nor sully with its reproaches. He adds, The blessed martyrs, though cast into black dungeons, have preserved their white garments, and though dressed so as to make them look like devils, have been filled with peace and joy.—Finally, this walking with Christ in white has respect to the heavenly glory, of which his transfiguration was a type, when it is said, *his raiment was white, so as no fuller on earth could whiten it.* Having told his hearers, that it had been the great object of his labours among them, to bring them into this holy and happy state, he concludes thus:—It shall be the desire and prayer of my heart that, if I should have no more opportunities among you, as you have been stirred up to obtain this *white robe of grace*, you and I may meet in *glory*, where we shall never part. That is the best of all. That is the answer of all our prayers; and that is the issue of all our working. Then shall we have as much *joy* as we can hold for ever.

He continued to live in London, after he was cast out from Magnus, and soon gathered a congregation in the neighbourhood, by London-bridge, to which he preached as the times would permit. His congregation so much increased, that at his death, he left one hundred and thirty-six communicants. He died universally lamented by all his acquaintance, at his house in Bury-street, in London, Feb. 1673, and in the seventy-first year of his age.

The following account of Mr Caryl's death, given in a letter of Mr Henry Dorney to his brother, well deserves to be inserted here. "That famous and laborious minister, Mr Joseph Caryl, your ancient friend and companion, is departed this life, aged 71 years. His death is greatly lamented by the people of God throughout this city. About the beginning of his sickness I was with him, and he inquired concerning you, as he was wont to do; and perceiving him to be somewhat weak, though he did not then keep his chamber, I desired him, while he was yet alive, to pray for you, which motion he cheerfully and readily embraced. And coming to him again, about three days before his death, found him very weak

and past hope of life. He told me, as well as I could understand him, for his speech was low, that he remembered his promise to me concerning you. I think good to mention this particular (circumstance) to provoke you to all seriousness in regard to your own soul, whose eternal welfare lay so much upon the heart of this servant of Christ. His labours were great; his studies incessant; his conversation unspotted: his charity, faith, zeal and wisdom gave a fragrant smell among the churches and servants of Christ. His sickness, though painful, was borne with patience and joy in believing; and so he parted from time to eternity under the full sail of desire and joy in the Holy Spirit. He lived his sermons. He did at last desire his friends to forbear speaking to him, that so he might retire in himself; which time they perceived he spent in prayer; oftentimes lifting up his hands a little; and at last his friends, finding his hands not to move, drew near and perceived he was silently departed from them, leaving many mourning hearts behind." [a]

Mr Wood says, that Mr Caryl was a learned and zealous Nonconformist. A considerable character from an avowed adversary. Dr Calamy says, that he had universally the character of a *learned man*. Messrs Neal and Palmer say, that he was a man of great piety, learning and modesty: a character which is sufficiently supported by his writings.—The Oxford-historian informs us, that several elegies were made on him after h s death, of which two or more he had seen extant. I have seen an elegy on his death, entitled, *London's Lass*. Part of it follows:

" Room for our tears; for here are thousands come
To vent our founts at his commanding tomb.
But oh! what mortal's genius can devise
A decent flood for such a sacrifice?—
His pious sermons did declare his worth,
His expositions set his learning forth;

a Dorney's Divine Contemplations, Lett. 113. p. 343. As with Palmer, Nonconf. Mem. second edit. vol. i.

And whilst we here lament his being gone,
Angels with Anthems welcome him at home.
Caryl, whose conversation, free from ill,
Can be expressed but by an angel's quill:
As in some mirror you might clearly see
In him, a perfect map of Piety;
The beauty of whose virtues may incite
The world to imitation and delight."—

The summer after Mr Caryl died, his congregation chose Dr John Owen for their pastor, and all united with that which was before under his care, which consisted of several persons of rank in the army. This united respectable society had afterward the eminently learned Mr David Clarkson for their pastor, who was succeeded by Dr Chauncey, as he was by the late very eminent Dr Isaac Watts, for whom they built a new meeting-house in Berry-street, near St Mary-Axe.[a]

I have collected a few choice sentences from Mr Caryl's writings, which follow; and will give the reader some idea of this eminent author. Speaking of what constitutes *a good work*, he mentions three things. 1. That the work may be good, we must be sure that the matter of it be good. It must be good in itself, as being according to Rule.—2. The aim, or the end of the work, must be good; and chiefly the glory of God, Mat. v. 16.—The *end* doth denominate the action.—3. The principle or spring of the work must be good.—Unless the *principles* be good, the work is not good. As the fountain is, such are the streams that come from it. As the tree is, such is the fruit that grows upon it. *Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?* Mat. vii. 16. The thorn hath not a principle in nature to put forth a grape: The thistle hath not a principle in nature to put forth a fig: and therefore saith Christ, *A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit.*——Gospel-charity is of a nobler extract, than to be found in the whole compass of nature; and godliness moves in a higher sphere, than the best dress

[a] Palmer's Nonconf. Mem.

that the gayest moralist ever reacht unto, Mat. v. 20.—Hence see the necessity of regeneration—We are not born with this *pure heart—good conscience and faith unfeigned*, which are the requisites to a *good work* in the text, 1 Tim. i. 5. These are the issues of the new birth.—You must be God's workmanship, before you can do God's work. You must be new creatures, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, before you can do them, Eph. ii. 10.—God makes us good, before we can do good.—We by union to Jesus Christ, come to have a spiritual principle to carry us out in the doing of all good works. As we are grafted into Christ, he changes the branch. Being planted into Christ, by the power of the Spirit, we are then made like him; and then we bring forth fruits of righteousness, which are to the glory of God *by him.* Mark the expression, *Being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ*, Phil. i. 11. That is, by virtue of union with Christ, of implantation and ingrafture into Christ. Then all our fruits are sweet, pleasant, and well tasted.—They are from a principle of life in Christ; and from a principle of love unto Christ.

Mr Caryl is eminently distinguished by his learned and judicious writings, of which an account here follows:

1. *The Works of Ephesus;* explained in a sermon from Rev. ii. 2, 3. before the House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, 27th April, 1642. 4to. pp. 60. London, 1642. An excellent sermon.

2. *David's Prayer for Solomon;* containing the proper endowments and duty royal of a king, with the consequent blessings upon a kingdom. A sermon from Psal. lxxii. 1—3. at Christ-church, London, before the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, 27th of March, 1643. The commemoration of his Majesty's inauguration. 4to. pp. 38. London, 1643.

3. *The Nature, Solemnity, Grounds, Property, and Benefits of a Sacred Covenant: Together with the Duties of those who enter into such a Covenant:* A sermon from Neh. ix. 38. preached at Westminster, at that

public Convention, ordered by the House of Commons, for taking the Covenant, by all such, of all degrees, as willingly presented themselves, upon Friday, Oct. 6th, 1643. 4to. London, 1643. This excellent sermon was printed again at Glasgow, in a Collection of Sermons and Speeches at taking the Covenant, in the year 1741. And again, in the same Collection, Glasgow, 1799. I have seen copies of all these editions, in different parts of Scotland.

4. *The Saints' Thankful Acclamation at Christ's Resumption of his Great Power and the Initials of his Kingdom:* A sermon at Westminster, from Rev. xi. 16, 17. before the House of Commons, at their solemn Thanksgiving, 23d April, 1644. 4to. pp. 50. London, 1644.

5. *The Arraignment of Unbelief, as the Grand Cause of our National Non-establishment:* A sermon to the House of Commons, Fast, 28th of May, 1645. from Isai. vii. 9. the latter part of the verse. 4to. pp. 48. London, 1645.

6. *The Present Duty and Endeavour of the Saints:* A sermon at Paul's from Eph. v. 10. upon the Lord's-day, Dec. 14th, 1645. London, 1646.

7. *Heaven and Earth Embracing:* or, *God and Man Approaching:* A sermon preached from Jam. iv. 6. the former part of the verse, before the House of Commons, upon the day of their public Fast, at Margaret's Westminster. 4to. pp. 44. London, 1646.

8. *Joy Out-joyed:* or, *Joy in overcoming evil spirits and evil men, overcome by better joy:* A sermon preached from Luke x. 20. to the House of Peers, at Martin's in the Fields, on a day of Thanksgiving. 4to. pp. 30. London, 1646.

9. *England's Plus Ultra, both of Hoped Mercies, and of Required Duties:* A sermon preached from Psal. cxviii. 17. to both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Common-council of London, together with the Assembly of Divines, at Christchurch, on a day of public Thanksgiving, April 2, 1646. 4to. pp. 42. and 4 pages of an epistle dedicatory. London, 1646.

Wood observes here, that he has other sermons which

he had not seen, as, A Fast sermon before the House of Commons, 29th July, 1646. Thanksgiving sermon before the Parliament, at Margaret's Westminster, Oct. 8th, from Psal. cxi. 1—5. Fast sermon before the Parliament, 24th Sept. 1656. And Fast and Thanksgiving sermon before the Parliament, Aug. and Oct. 1659. Nor have I seen these sermons. But I have seen his sermon, entitled, *The Oppressor destroyed*, from Psal. cxix. 134. before the Lord Mayor, 21st Sept. 1651. And his Farewell sermon at Magnus, from Rev. iii. 4. 4to. London, 1662—1663. with other Farewell sermons.

Mr Caryl has also written and published, *An Exposition with Practical Observations upon the Book of Job.* This most elaborate, learned, judicious, and pious, work, was first printed in London, in twelve volumes in quarto, and afterward in two large volumes in folio. The 1st vol. 4to. 1644, 2d vol. 1645, the other vols. in the following years, and the 12th in the year 1666. 1036 pages. I have also seen vol. 1. 4to. pp. 479, London, 1651, and 1669. vol. 2d 4to. pp. 725. London, 1656.—All the 12th vols. I have seen were printed in the year 1666.—The 1st vol. folio edit. pp. 2281. London, 1676: 2d vol. pp. 2410. London, 1677. Wood says that these volumes are epitomised in the second volume of *Poole's Synopsis Criticorum.* Dr Calamy informs us, that some have very unworthily represented this work as a Commentary on Pineda, or a translation of it; but he who will but be at the pains to compare them a little, by reading a dozen leaves in each, will find that this is a gross mistake.[a]—The whole work is strongly marked with the characters of sound judgment, extensive erudition, and genuine piety. Dr Edward Williams, in his Preacher's Library, gives this work the following character: "Caryl's Exposition, with practical observations upon the book of Job, is a most elaborate, learned, judicious, and pious work; containing a rich fund of critical and practical divinity." Dr Cotton Mather, in his Student and Preacher, says, when speaking respecting Commentators on the Holy Scriptures;

[a] Calamy's Acc. 2 edit. vol. 2. p. 8.

"How happy should we have been, if an Hutcheson, who has done so well on Job, and on the smaller prophets, and on John. had left us the like operations on the rest of the Bible? Or, if a Caryl on Job, a Greenhill on Ezekiel, a Burroughs on Hosea, an Owen on the Hebrews, a Manton on James, and a Jenkins on Jude, were accompanied with others like them on the rest of the sacred pandects." Dr Wilkins, in his Ecclesiastes, reckons Mr Caryl a most eminent Commentator on Job. He certainly explains with perspicuity, and maintains with dignity, the peculiar characteristic doctrines of the gospel. He gives the most judicious and clear expositions of many other parts of the Holy Scriptures, in this work, and in all his writings. Mr Brown very properly places Mr Caryl among the best Commentators on the Holy Scriptures, in his Dictionary of the Bible, under the word Bible.

The quarto edition of this large and celebrated work is in the catalogue of books in the Theological library, belonging to the students of divinity in the University of Edinburgh, 1757. I have seen both editions in the libraries of Gospel-Ministers, in several counties of Scotland; and this luminous work well deserves a place in the library of every Christian divine. I have seen it plentifully in many families, in different parts of Scotland. It continues to be often advertised for sale, in the London-catalogues. It was in Mr Hamilton's catalogue, Paternoster Row, 1809, p. 4. 2 vols. folio, £2. 18*s*. In Mr Ogle's, under the same date, 2 vols. imperial folio, strongly bound in calf, £3. 10*s*. And in 1811, 2 vols. folio, £3. 13*s*. 6*d*. and 12 vols. 4to. neat, £3. 3*s*.

Mr Caryl had also a hand in a book, entitled, *An English Greek Lexicon, containing the derivations and various significations of all the Words in the New Testament.* Oct. 1661.

And after his death, was published, *The Nature and Principles of Love, as the end of the Commandment:* being some of his last sermons, with an epistle to the reader by Dr Owen, and a fine Portrait of the author. A small book, London, 1673.

THOMAS CASE, M. A.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN LONDON, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

THOMAS CASE was born in the county of Kent, in England. He was the son of Mr George Case, Minister of Boxley in that county. His father, who was eminently distinguished both by his parts and his piety, was peculiarly attentive to him, and gave him a well-directed and religious education in early life, which is commonly the best time for instruction. *Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it.* "The importance of early instruction is written upon the whole system of nature, and repeated in every page of the history of Providence. You may bend a young twig and make it receive almost any form; but that which has attained to maturity, and taken its ply, you will never bring into another shape than that which it naturally bears."—Children may undoubtedly receive much benefit by the use of means, in a very early period of life And when parents use the means, they ought carefully to remember the beautiful connexion between the duty and the promise—*Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it.* We ought to believe the certainty of the promise, as well as the obligation of the duty; and take a full view of the connexion. The beautiful connexion here was very clearly seen, in the pious subject of these pages. Under the seasonable and wholesome instructions of the religious and careful father, accompanied with the divine blessing; the amiable and tractable son, drinking in spiritual and good instructions with much earnestness and delight, gave very signal proofs of his eminently pious disposition, and of his great ingenuity, even in his child-hood, upon the first dawn of reason, which continued with him until old age.

We are informed, that he was a very young convert; and that his conversion began with prayer in very early life, *God working in him both to will and to do of his good pleasure*, when he was only six years of age. The solemn transaction with the Lord God of his salvation appears to have been very deeply engraved upon his young mind; for he himself related it to Dr Jacomb, who preached his funeral sermon.[a] And at that age, through the influence of divine grace, he was inclined to pray by himself, every morning and evening, shewing forth with a grateful heart the loving-kindness of God in promising salvaion in the morning, and his faithfulness in accomplishing it every night, which are inexhaustible subjects for morning and evening prayers and praises. And he prayed, not by the help of any *book* or *form*, either read or remembered; but by the gracious assistance of the Holy Spirit. He readily performed the duty, not upon any *precept* or *direction*, either from his father, or from any other person; but solely upon God's drawing and inclining his heart to it. That saying of Tertullian is very applicable to his prayer—*Without a monitor, because from the heart.*[b] His management of prayer with others, when advanced to eight years of age, is said to have been very remarkable, but I cannot give any particular account of that.—In the account of the remarkable conversion of the apostle Paul, it is said, *Behold, he prayeth*, Acts ix. 11. He no longer breathed out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of Jesus; but earnestly prayed for mercy. Prayer is the breath of regenerate persons, and shews that they are spiritually alive; especially prayer with the spirit and with the understanding; frequent and fervent prayer, from a feeling sense of our want of spiritual blessings, such as we had no knowledge of before, nor desire after. The subjects of God's regenerating grace, always cry unto him; whether they are called after a course of opposition to God, as Paul, who therefore styles himself—*One born out of due time*, or in

a Jacomb's Fun. Serm. p. 48.
b Jacomb.

early life, as the subject of these pages. Our blessed Lord and Saviour has said—*Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God*, Mark x. 14. Our Saviour's words here undoubtedly imply, that even little children may be the subjects of divine regenerating grace, and thereby become really holy, and enjoy communion with God. If they can bear the dark impression of Adam's corrupt nature in their infancy or childhood, they may certainly be then *renewed in the spirit of their mind, after the image of Him who created them.* Almighty power, and the unsearchable riches of divine grace, can very easily accomplish this desirable change in children, as in the remarkable instance which is now before us. Our young and pious convert gave afterward sufficient proof of the sincerity of his conversion, by actively promoting the cause of religion, and by acquitting himself, under supernatural influence, in his proper station, with the spirit and temper of a real Christian. *In his calling, he did abide with God.*

At the proper season, he was sent to school at Canterbury, and afterward to Merchant-Taylor's school in London. He continued there, until his father, meeting with troubles, was obliged to remove him from these seminaries, and to take him home to himself; where he gave him all instruction in the arts and languages, that his circumstances would admit. In due time, he was sent to the famous University of Oxford, and became student of Christ-church there, in the year 1616, aged seventeen years, or thereabout, as Wood informs us. His industry and improvement were such, that he was unanimously elected *Student* of that House, by the Dean and Canons. He resided there until he commenced Master of Arts, and a year or two after. He took the degree of Master of Arts, June 26th, in the year 1623.[a]

Being now in some measure fitted for the work of the holy ministry, he commenced a preacher of the gospel. Wood says, that he preached sometime in these parts,

[a] Wood's Fasti. Oxon. vol. i. Col. 225.

and afterward in Kent, at, or near the place of his nativity. By the great importunity of a most intimate and affectionate friend in Norfolk, he was prevailed with to go and reside sometime with him. But he was soon called to the exercise of his ministry at Erpingham, a town in the county of Norfolk, where he continued eight or ten years. He was remarkably laborious in the work of his pastoral charge here, preaching twice every Lord's-day, expounding the Holy Scriptures, catechising the young people, and repeating in private what he had delivered in public, as several eminent ministers did in those times, in England His mind was enlightened, and his heart animated, by the Spirit of truth and of love; and he sincerely endeavoured *to divide rightly the word of truth;* instructing the ignorant, and arousing the careless, reproving the sinner, and comforting the saint. He attracted the esteem of many persons, who readily attended him, in order to enjoy the benefit of his profitable labours. And he was an eminently successful labourer in the Lord's vineyard, in the conversion of many souls. But meeting with much trouble there, he was forced to remove from that place by Bishop Wren's extreme severity, which we frequently meet with in this work. He was summoned to the high commission-court, and bailed; but before answer could be given to the articles preferred against him, the court was taken away by act of Parliament. His very intimate and affectionate friend above-mentioned, being made Warden of Manchester, took Mr Case with him into Lancashire. Our faithful and persecuted servant of Jesus Christ was, in a short time, presented to a place in the neighbouring county. But great revolutions and confusions prevailing soon after in the nation, he was, by the importunity of some persons of quality, persuaded to accompany them to *London.* Divine Providence conducted him safely to this famous metropolis, and afterward settled him comfortably there. He was first chosen lecturer, and afterward pastor of Mary Magdalen church in Milk-street, in London. Here he was eminently laborious and faithful in his ministerial work. Beside his labours in the congregation, and on the Lord's-day, he carried on a

weekly lecture every Saturday, in order that the people might be the better prepared for the Sabbath. And here he first set up the *Morning Exercise*, which was highly beneficial to many persons, and has been long continued.[a] Many citizens of London having some near relation or friend in the army of the Earl of Essex, so many bills were sent up to the pulpit every Lord's-day for their preservation, that the minister had neither time to read them, nor to recommend their cases to God in prayer. Some divines in London therefore agreed to separate an hour for this purpose every morning, one half to be spent in prayer, and the other half in a suitable exhortation to the people. Mr Case began it in his church at seven o'clock in the morning, and when it had continued there a month, it was removed by turns to other churches at a distance, for the accommodation of the several parts of the city, and was called the *Morning Exercise*. The service was performed by different ministers, with fervent prayer both for the public welfare and for particular cases, in the presence of a large auditory. When the heat of the war was over, it became a casuistical lecture, and was carried on by the most learned and eminent divines of those times till the restoration of King Charles the Second. Their sermons were afterward published in several volumes in quarto, under the title of the *Morning Exercises*, each sermon being the resolution of some practical case of conscience. This lecture, though in a different form, was afterward continued among the Prostenant Dissenters.[b]

Mr Case's labours were not confined to his parish in Milk-street, he also carried on a lecture at Martin's in the Fields every Thursday; which he kept up above twenty years. Being eminently zealous for the Reformation, he was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and displayed his abilities there with success, in the service of the church. He was called frequently to preach to the members of the Parliament, and on public occasions.—Mr Walker reflects severely upon

a Jacomb's Fun. Ser. pp. 39, 40, 41.
b Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. chap. xii. 1642.

him from a sermon which he preached before the Commons, in the year 1644, and for his *invitation* of those persons to the Sacrament, *who had contributed freely and liberally to the Parliament, for the defence of God's cause and the gospel.*[a] And the following passage in the sermon before the commissioners for the Court-martial, in 1644, is mentioned by Mr Granger, as sanguinary and reprehensible. "Noble Sirs, imitate God, and be merciful to none that have sinned of malicious wickedness;" meaning the royalists. And the following observation has been made here: "It is painful to reflect that so venerable and amiable a man should have been so transported by the fury of the times, as to have uttered, and especially to have printed, so unchristian a sentence."[b] In order that the reader may have just conceptions of the author's meaning in this sentence, which is reckoned *unchristian*, I shall exhibit it as it stands in the sermon, and he may judge for himself. The sermon is preached from 2 Chron. xix. 6, 7. before the commissioners for the Court-martial, and is entitled, *Jehoshaphat's Caveat to his Judges.* In the eighteenth page of this sermon, the author says, "Noble Sirs, in your execution of judgment upon *delinquents*, imitate God: *And be merciful to none that have sinned of malicious wickedness*, Psal. lix. 5." He adds: "Let not your eye pity any who in this bloody quarrel have laid the foundation of their Rebellion and Massacres in *irreconcileable hatred* to Religion and the Government of Jesus Christ: Those his enemies that would not have him reign over them, slay them before his face.—Let not them find mercy in your eyes, in whose eyes a whole nation, and our posterity, could find no pity: spare not, but where you think in your consciences God himself would spare, if he himself were upon the bench in person. Imitate God in your justice." After this exhortation, the author insists warmly and largely upon imitating God in their mercy. *Be merciful as your heavenly Father is*

a Walker's Attempt, Part i. p. 17. Wood's Ath. vol. ii. Col. 707.

b See Toulmin's edit. of Neal's Hist. vol. iv. p. 599. Note.

merciful.—The other expressions, in Mr Case's writings, which have been severely censured by his enemies, are similar to those above-mentioned. Respecting the sententence which is reckoned *unchristian*, and similar expressions in the author's writings, we ought to observe, that he is not addressing private Christians, but such as are God's deputies, and should act always conformably to his law in their station, *taking heed what they do; for they judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with them in the judgment.* Beside, it is unfair, in giving the sentence, to leave out the expression, "Execution of judgment upon *delinquents*," or those persons who have committed crimes; to make no reference to the sacred text, Psal. lix. 5. which the author does; and to say without qualification, that he means the royalists. He undoubtedly means the royalists when they were found to be *delinquents;* but not otherwise. And he only means that the royalists, or any persons, should be punished as the divine law directs, according to their crimes, which the sermon sufficiently proves. He insists chiefly upon the imitation of God, and acting in strict conformity to his law, in judgment. It is readily allowed that he was quick and passionate; this seems indeed to have been his infirmity; but his memory should not on that account be treated with partiality. And the severe persecution which he and his brethren endured from Bishop Wren and his court, ought to plead something in his excuse, admitting that he expressed himself sometimes with too much warmth.[a] The cruel treatment of the most zealous and useful preachers, while the most loose and careless were warmly encouraged, would probably have excited the indignation of persons of a very calm temper, who had God's glory at heart, and who had suffered as much as Mr Case had done. I do not intend, however, to plead for what is wrong in any degree, in any person. The real followers of Jesus have their peculiarities, and their infirmities, in their state of imperfection; and too fre-

a See Walker's Attempt, Part i. pp. 48, 49. Calamy's Cont. vol. i. p. 23.

quently give proof to those who are around them that they are renewed but in part. "It is obvious from the history of the first disciples of our Lord and Saviour—that while the grace of God has a holy influence, it seldom if ever changes the constitutional complexion—and that while it sanctifies the powers of human nature, it does not give us new ones. It renders the possessor open to conviction, and makes him willing to retract when he has done amiss, but it does not lay him under an impossibility of doing wrong. Hence a diversity of character in the church of God. Hence a variety of degrees in the spiritual life. Hence blemishes mixed with excellencies and defects rendered the more observable by the neighbourhood of some very praise-worthy qualities in the same individual. And hence, while religion appears to be divine in its origin and its tendency, we can easily discern that it is human in its residence and its exercise."[a] Let us therefore be tender, and consider ourselves, lest we also be tempted; and not censure indiscriminately, but praise as far as we can with truth and justice. Let the strong bear the infirmities of the weak, and not please themselves.

Mr Case was an eminently zealous Covenanter, as very clearly appears by his judicious and valuable sermons, which he preached at taking the Covenant. His first sermon on this occasion was preached at Laurence Church, on the Fast-day, Sept. 27th, 1643. His second sermon was preached at Milk-street, upon Saturday evening, Sept. 30th. for the Preparation to the Covenant. And his third sermon was preached on the Sabbath-day in the morning, the first of October; immediately before taking the Covenant, in Milk-street-church.—In the preface to these three sermons, he says:—"To every soul that shall enter into this holy league and covenant; my request is, that they would look around them: life and death is before them; if we break with God now, we have just cause to fear, God will stand to covenant no more with us, but will avenge the quarrel, with our utter destruc-

a Jay's Discourses for Families, vol. i. Disc. viii.

tion; if we be sincere and faithful, this covenant will be a foundation of much peace, joy, glory, and security, to us, and our seed, to the coming of Christ, which that it may be, shall be the earnest prayer of him, who is thy servant for Jesus' sake,

THOMAS CASE."

He was one of those ministers who subscribed the two Papers, declaring against the proceedings of the Parliament, in the year 1648, and the bringing King Charles to a trial.[a]

He was turned out of his place of Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, for refusing the *Engagement*, when it was vehemently urged, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, or of the Commonwealth, after the death of King Charles the First. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were now abolished, and a new oath was appointed, called the *Engagement*, which was, "To be true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers." Such persons as refused this oath were declared incapable of holding any place or office of trust in the Commonwealth; but as many of the excluded members of the House of Commons as would take it resumed their places. —And in order to bring the Presbyterian ministers to the test, the Engagement was strongly urged, and required to be sworn and subscribed by all Ministers, heads of Colleges and Halls, Fellows of Houses, Graduates, and all Officers in the Universities.—No minister was to be admitted to any ecclesiastical living; nor to be capable of enjoying any preferment in the church, unless he qualified himself by taking the Engagement within six months, publicly in the face of the congregation.[b] Mr Baxter says, that most of the Sectarian party swallowed the Engagement; and so did the King's old Cavaliers, very few of them being sick of the disease of a scrupulous conscience: but the moderate Episcopal men, and Presbyterians, generally refused it, as Mr Case did. Though

a Calamy's Cont. vol. i. p. 14.
b Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. chap. i.

he was put out of his place on this account, Divine Providence soon opened another door for him. Christians should never despair. Our heavenly Father can always provide for his children. His resources are innumerable and inexhaustible. *O fear the Lord, ye his saints: for there is no want to them who fear him.* Mr Case was now called to preach as Lecturer, at Aldermanbury, and at Giles' Cripplegate. He continued preaching the glorious gospel of the grace of God in these congregations, until he was sent prisoner to the Tower, where he was confined about six months for his concern with the celebrated Mr Love. Upon the death of King Charles First, the Scots proclaimed the Prince of Wales King of Scotland, and sent commissioners to the Hague, to invite him into that kingdom, *if he would renounce Popery and Prelacy, and take the Solemn League and Covenant.* The body of the English Presbyterians acted in concert with the Scots, for restoring the King upon the footing of the Covenant. Several English Ministers carried on a private correspondence with the chiefs of the Scottish nation; and instead of taking the *engagement* to the present powers, called them *usurpers*, and declined praying for them in their churches: they also declared against a general Toleration, which the army and Parliament contended for.[a] In this cause, Mr Love lost his life, and Mr Case was imprisoned about six months, under the new government, or commonwealth. He made the best use he could of his imprisonment, falling then into the meditation which he afterward preached and printed, under the title of *Correction, Instruction.* The prison-house, where persons are confined for a good cause, is not a bad school for the ministers of Christ. Some of Paul's epistles were dated there, and greatly savour of prison-supports. And we are told, that Cervantes wrote his adventures of Don Quixote in a prison; and, from so vigorous an exercise of all his faculties in that situation, we may conclude that a person may be in jail without being miserable.

Mr Case, after his release, was invited to be Lecturer

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. chap. i.

at Giles' in the Fields, near London. He continued here, till the King's restoration, when the former incumbent was re-admitted.

Mr Wood says, that "when the Presbyterians began to lift up their heads in the latter end of 1659, upon the generous proceedings of General Monk, he was constituted by Act of Parliament, dated 14th of March that year, one of the Ministers for the approbation and admission of Ministers according to the Presbyterian way." [a]

In the year 1660, he was one of the ministers deputed by his brethren in London, to wait upon the King at Breda, to congratulate him on his Restoration.—Mr Baxter says, that the King gave them very encouraging promises of peace, and raised some of them to high expectations. He never refused them a private audience when they desired it; and to amuse them farther, while they were once waiting in an anti-chamber, his Majesty said his prayers with such an audible voice in the room adjoining, that the ministers might hear him: "He thanked God that he was a covenanted King; that he hoped the Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving, spirit; that he might have forbearance toward his offending subjects, as he expected forbearance from offended Heaven." Upon hearing which old Mr Case lifted up his hands to Heaven, and blessed God, who had given them a praying King. [b]

In the year 1661, Mr Case was one of the commissioners at the Savoy-conference. In the year 1662, he was ejected or silenced with his brethren, by the Act for Uniformity. Wood says; "Yet ever after so long as he lived, he was not wanting to carry on the *beloved Cause* in Conventicles, for which he sometimes suffered."—In this *trying* season, he was chiefly concerned, that *divine grace might be sufficient for him*, to preserve him from *sin;*—that he might derive advantage from his crosses, and be able to say it is *good for me that I have been afflicted;*—that he might enjoy the light of God's countenance, as

a Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 707.
b Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. chap. iv. 1660.

his support and comfort;—that he might in due time *come forth as gold;*—and that he might *glorify the Lord in the fires.* And when his public ministry was at an end, he ceased not in private with the utmost diligence to do all the good he could. He preached his Farewell-sermon, at the conclusion of his public ministry, from Rev. ii. 5. He says, Christ here prescribes precious Physic for the healing of this languishing church of Ephesus, compounded of three ingredients,—self-reflection—holy contrition —and thorough reformation. He warmly urges these upon his hearers, in order to prevent the threatened removal of their religious privileges.—In the close of the last head, respecting the necessary Reformation,—" We should do something by way of extraordinary bounty and charity to the relief of God's indigent servants"—He enlarges upon the pertinent passage, Dan. iv. 27. and concludes thus: " That which I would exhort you to is, for every one to set apart some considerable part of your estate, and account it as a hallowed thing, dedicated to God; as a thing which to touch were sacrilege; that you may be ready on all occasions, in all due and regular ways, to bring out for the relief of the poor. You know objects abounding in every place, and you may expect warrantable means for dispensing of what God shall put into your hands, in this manner." This wholesome advice furnishes us with one eminently distinguishing and pleasing trait in the character of this venerable servant of Jesus Christ. God has made rich men stewards, but not proprietors. And they who have, as the gift of *the living God, all things richly to enjoy,* should *be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate,* to the poor and distressed. *It is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful.* And the tender care of Divine Providence extends to the poor as well as to the rich.

Mr Case was eminently distinguished in his relative capacity, and praise-worthy. He had a prudent wife from the Lord; *a help meet for him.* They lived together nearly forty-five years; and he often said, that *in all that time there had been no contention between them, except in*

this, who should love one another most. They were *equally yoked together*, being both very pious and affectionate. They were worthy of imitation in their whole deportment. —Mr Case had no children of his own body; but his wife had children, to whom he was peculiarly attentive, and highly useful.—As soon as God had crowned his wishes, by placing him over a family, he endeavoured to glorify God as the master of a family. He now worshipped God, not only in the closet, but also in the parlour, with his wife, the children and servants in the train. He zealously used all proper means to render the family truly religious. He was eminently attentive to the welfare of all persons who came under his roof. He instructed them carefully in the principles of religion, by helping them to understand the Holy Scriptures; which were read in his family morning and evening. And his custom was, to cause every child and servant remember something that had been read; which he opened to them, in a plain and familiar manner, and afterward proceeded to prayer. He mingled instruction with devotion. Many servants, who lived with him, blessed God that ever they came into his house.[a]

He died in a good old age, on the 30th of May, in the year 1682, aged eighty-four years. His life was holy, and his death was easy. He was allowed to escape, in a great degree, from the alarming approaches of the last enemy. He endured no sickness, no pain, no agonies, at the last. "The garment of mortality easily dropt off; and the servant of God fell asleep in the Lord." Rising from dinner he desired some repose upon his bed; where as soon as he was laid, he *gathered up his feet, and so yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people.* This easy death he had much desired, and often prayed for, and he was mercifully favoured with it, in answer to his prayers. His mortal remains were decently interred in Christ-church within Newgate in London, on the 14th of June, 1682. Soon after his body was buried, a large white stone was laid over his grave; just below the steps

a Jacomb's Fun. Serm. pp. 51, 52.

going to the altar, with the following inscription upon it in Latin, which I shall translate into English: *Here sweetly sleeps Thomas Case, a most faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, an excellent preacher in this city and elsewhere for many years. Educated in Christ-church, Oxford, in this church of Christ at last buried. He died 20th of May, in the year of his age* 84, *and in the year of our Lord*, 1682.[a] Mr Case lived the longest of any of those who composed the Assembly of Divines, who continued among the Dissenters. He was a man of good abilities, of sound judgment, of quick invention, of a warm spirit, and of steady principles; an open plain-hearted man; an ardent and hearty lover of God, and of all good men; of *a broken and a contrite heart*, heavenly minded and charitable.—He was an excellent scripture-preacher; an eminent man in prayer, and a very diligent and successful labourer in the Lord's vineyard.—In doctrine, he was a very strict Calvinist.—*Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace. And let us be followers of them who through faith and patience are now inheriting the promises.*

Mr Case has left several written works:

Two sermons preached from Ezek. xx. 25. and Ezra x. 23. at Westminster before sundry of the House of Commons. 4to. London, 1641, Second edit. 1642.—Sermons respecting God's Waiting to be gracious, at Milk-street, from Isai. xxx. 18. 4to. pp. 168. London, 1642.—*God's Rising, his Enemies' Scattering:* A sermon from Psal. lxviii. 1, 2. before the Commons, Fast, 26th Oct. 1642. 4to. pp. 51. London, 1644.—*The Root of Apostacy, and Fountain of true Fortitude:* A sermon from Dan. xi. 32. before the House of Commons, 9th April, 1644. 4to. pp. 34. London, 1644.—*Jehoshaphat's Caveat to his Judges:* A sermon from 2 Chron. xix. 6, 7. before the Commissioners for the Court-Martial, 17th Aug. 1644. London, 1644.—*The Quarrel of the Covenant, with the Pacification of the Quarrel:* Three

[a] Wood and Jacomb.

sermons from Lev. xxvi. 25. and Jer. l. 5. 4to. London, 1644; Glasgow, 1741, and 1799.—A Thanksgiving sermon from Isai. xliii. 14. before the Commons, 22d Aug. 1645. 4to. London, 1645.—*Deliverance, Obstruction;* or, *The Set-backs of Reformation:* A sermon from Exod. v. 22, 23. before the House of Lords, Fast, 26th March, 1646. 4to. London, 1646.—*A Model of True Spiritual Thankfulness:* Sermon from Psal. cvii. 30, 31. before the Commons. 4to. London, 1646.—*Spiritual Whoredom:* Fast sermon, before the Commons, from Hos. ix. 1. London, 1647.—*The Vanity of Vainglory:* Funeral sermon for Kinsmet Lucy, Esq. from 1 Cor. i. 29—31. London, 1655.—*Sensuality Dissected:* Sermon to divers citizens of London, born in Kent. London, 1657.—*Elijah's Abatement, or Corruption in the Saints;* A sermon preached at Chatham in Kent, from James v. 17. at the funeral of Mr Rosewell, Minister of the Gospel there. London, 1658.

He has other funeral sermons; but I have not seen them; One for Mrs Elizabeth Scott, in 1659.—Another for Darcy Wivil, Esq. in 1659.—The first and last sermon in the Morning Exercise at St Giles', 1659, are his.—And a sermon on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, from Isai. lviii. 13, 14. in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate.—And his Farewell sermon.

Mr Case has also written, *Correction, Instruction:* or, *A Treatise of Afflictions.* Small book, the second edit. corrected and enlarged, London, 1653; and again, 1671.

Imitation of the Saints opened in Practical Meditations. 4to. London, 1666.

Mount Pisgah: or, *A Prospect of Heaven.* This volume contains An Exposition of the 4th chap. of 1 Thess. from ver. 13. to the end of the chap. divided into three parts.. 4to. London, 1670.

DANIEL CAWDREY, A. M.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT GREAT BILLING IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, AND A NOTABLE MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

DANIEL CAWDREY was the son of an old Nonconformist, Mr Robert Cawdrey, who struggled hard with the Bishops upon his deprivation for Nonconformity. His case was published, and the injustice which he suffered was preserved upon record. This son was the youngest of many sons. He was educated in Peter-House, in the University of Cambridge. We must regret the want of information respecting the particulars of the life of the subject of this Memoir. It is certain, however, that he was eminently distinguished in his day, in the character of a Christian minister. It appears, by the title-page of his sermons, which are entitled, *Humility the Saints' Livery*, that he was sometime, in 1624, Minister of the Word of God, at Little Ilford, in Essex. He was afterward settled at Great Billing, in the county of Northampton, in England. Dr Calamy says, He was a considerable man, eminently learned, and a noted member of the Assembly of Divines. He preached sometimes to the members of Parliament. In a sermon preached to the House of Commons, from Prov. xxix. 8. at their solemn Fast, he testifies against these seminaries of sin, stage-plays, which are often well attended, when many churches are almost empty. Speaking of open scorners, who are professed mockers of Religion, he says; "Among these you may reckon your *Stage-players*, who had scoffed Religion out of countenance with many. *You have done well to put them down, and shall do better, if you keep them down.*"

This eminently good man, and faithful servant of Jesus Christ was cast out from Great Billing, by the Act for Uniformity, after he had been a very laborious minister of the gospel there, about thirty-six or thirty-seven years. He removed afterward into Welling-borough, where he had a daughter married. There he lived in great pain,

receiving, however, all who came to him, and encouraging them in the ways of holiness and piety, till Oct. 1664, when he fell asleep in the Lord; aged forty days short of seventy-six years.

Mr Cawdrey's written works are;

1. *Humility the Saints' Livery:* Substance of two sermons, from 1 Pet. v. 5. London, 1624.

2. An Assize sermon at Northampton, in 1627, from Psal. lxix. 9.

3. *Superstitio Superstes.* 4to. 1641.

4. *The Good Man a Public Good:* A sermon preached from Prov. xxix. 8. to the House of Commons. 4to. pp. 43. London, 1643.

5. *Vindiciae Clavium:* or, A Vindication of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, into the hands of the right Owners. 4to. pp. 90. London, 1645. in English.

6. *The Inconsistency of Independency with Scripture & itself:* A threefold Discourse. 4to. pp. 219. Lon. 1651.

7. *Sabbatum Redivivum:* or, *The Christian Sabbath Vindicated:* A large and elaborate work, in two quarto volumes. The first Part by him and Mr Herbert Palmer; the second Part by Mr Cawdrey alone. London, 1645.

8. *Independency a great Schism.*

9. A Diatribe against Dr Hammond, on Superstition and Festivals.

10. A Vindication of this Diatribe.

11. *A Sober Answer to a Serious Question:* Against Mr Giles Firmin.

12. A sermon at Paul's, July 1st 1655. from 1 Tim. i. 19. London, 1655.

13. *Self-examination for Preparation to the Lord's-table.*

14. *Family Reformation Promoted.* Small book, London, 1656.

15. *Church-Reformation Promoted.* Small book, London, 1657.

16. Bowing to or toward the Table Superstitious.

17. *An Essay against Usury.*

18. *The Grand Case, with Reference to the New Conformity.*[a]

a Dr Calamy's Account, vol. ii.

HUMPHREY CHAMBERS, D. D.

PASTOR OF CLAVERTON AND OF PEWSEY, SUCCESSIVELY, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OE DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

HUMPHREY CHAMBERS was born in Somersetshire, in England. He was a gentleman's son, and he was educated in University-College, Oxford, where he became a Commoner, in the year 1614, aged fifteen years. After he had taken the degree of Master of Arts, he entered into holy Orders, and in June 1623, he was made Rector of Claverton in his own country, on the death of John Bewshen. Afterward, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and was much esteemed by the neighbouring ministers as an orthodox divine. But he was silenced by Bishop Pierce, his diocesan, for maintaining and preaching up *the morality of the Sabbath.* He boldly discovered, on this occasion, a true Christian spirit. His faithfulness, in contending earnestly for the truth, exposed him to heavy sufferings. Dr Calamy says, that this created him two years trouble, imprisonment, and sequestration, by Archbishop Laud's taking the cause into his own hands, who was seldom backward in severity, in cases of that nature.[a] Mr Chambers was, at this time, eminently distinguished by his self-denial and holy courage, qualities which are highly ornamental to the Christian character. He was entirely devoted to the honourable service of his blessed Lord and Saviour; and made an illustrious appearance, at this period, for the morality of the Lord's-day, or Christian Sabbath. He was willing to sacrifice every personal consideration for the good of the church, and for the glory of his Redeemer, whom he cheerfully followed to the gloomy prison. *Jesus said unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and*

a Calamy's Account, vol. ii. 2d edit. p. 754.

follow me. He was firmly resolved, that, through the strength of divine grace, nothing should stop him in the course of his duty. And *he took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, knowing in himself, that he had in heaven, a better and an enduring substance.* By such remarkable dispensations, God, *whose foolishness is wiser than men,* exercises the faith and patience of his servants, and gloriously displays the power of his own arm, and the unsearchable riches of his grace, in carrying on his own eternal designs, in spite of the utmost efforts of his most formidable adversaries. And the behaviour of Christ's zealous and faithful servants, under their grievous sufferings, exhibiting noble examples of undaunted courage, admirable patience, unshaken firmness, cheerful resignation, and disinterested love, affords a very strong testimony to the truth of the Christian religion. Thus, *the wrath of man,* and of Satan also, against the church, is made *to praise the Lord;* and *the remainder of it, he* most mercifully *restrains.* And Christ always furnishes his servants completely, for whatever service he requires from them; rendering *his yoke easy, and his burden light,* to them. And persons may sometimes be converted and encouraged by the sufferings of Christ's faithful servants, as well as by their ministry. And, when we reflect upon the numerous and grievous sufferings of the primitive Christians, and of the faithful followers of the Lamb in succeeding ages, we should cheerfully submit, without murmuring, yea, with grateful hearts, to our very small inconveniences in Christ's service. *Verily, there is a reward for the righteous; verily he is a God who judgeth in the earth.*

When the times changed, and the civil war broke out between the King and Parliament, Mr Chambers took part with the Parliament. He maintained a man and a horse at his own expence, in actual service, in the defence of civil and religious liberty. He took the *Covenant,* and was constituted a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He preached a sermon before the House of Commons, in Margaret's, Westminster, at their public Fast, on the 27th of Sept. 1643. In his address to the

House of Commons, which is prefixed to this sermon, he says, "Suffer a word of exhortation, and be intreated, in the fear of God, to continue ever faithful to the God of heaven, and to our dread Sovereign, the King's Majesty, then, although you be esteemed enemies, for speaking the truth, and seeking righteousness, yet may you wait with comfort, for a time, wherein the Lord will cause your righteousness to shine forth as the morning, and your just dealing as the noon day." In the sermon, he greatly laments the divisions among the worshippers of the one living and true God; and warmly recommends Christian unity in all matters of religion, to all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, not only in England, but also in Scotland, and in Ireland, as now notified and ratified by a solemn Covenant. Addressing the House of Commons, he says, "Honourable and beloved, It is greatly to be hoped and desired, that that solemn Covenant, into which yourselves with some others, have already exemplarily entered, shall in God's due time, notwithstanding all oppositions, bring forth a blessed Church, unity in the united kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which if ever attained, will be a blessed and heavenly pledge and assurance to us and our posterities after us, that the Lord will make good to us and them that blessed promise which he made of old unto his people; *I will set my tabernacle among you: and my soul shall not abhor you. And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people*, Lev. xxvi. 11, 12. Oh! that we might live to see that happy day, wherein the three kingdoms, united under one Sovereign Commander on earth, may be sweetly united in the service and worship of the one God of Heaven, *that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in them all.* Then doubtless would the Lord, the God of peace, set his tabernacle among us, and rejoice over us to do us good."—Toward the end of the sermon, he says, "Worthy patriots—be exhorted, in the name of God, seriously and undauntedly to set forward a holy Reformation of our kingdom, regulated by the word of God. That solemn peaceful Covenant, into which you have lately en-

tered, engageth you thereunto. That Covenant obligeth you to labour to *bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction, and uniformity in religion, according to the word of God, to endeavour the extirpation of whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.* In the accomplishment of this Covenant, the work of public Reformation, which I now press upon you, will be accomplished, prosecute it, and in the prosecution thereof you cannot but promote that Reformation, which the Lord calls and looks for, as the fruit and ornament of all your days of solemn humiliation. Take this for your comfort; they who are for God in sincerity, shall have the Lord God for them, and with them, in abundant mercy, to guide them by his counsel till at length he receive them to eternal glory. Let the Apostle's Christian exhortation, therefore, sound ever in your ears, and prevail upon your hearts, *Let us not be weary in well doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.*" In the whole sermon, the author discovers much genuine piety, solid learning, and true zeal for the Reformation. He was also one of the three ministers who preached before the House of Lords, on the 22d of Oct. 1644, on the uniting of the army. Wood says, that he was Minister of Stretchley, in Shropshire, in the year 1648. Soon after he had the rich Rectory of Pewsey, near Marlborough, in the county of Wilts, conferred on him by the Earl of Pembroke. He commenced Doctor of Divinity, on the 12th of April, in the year 1648. He was married to a daughter of the eminently learned and pious Dr Richard Brett, who was appointed one of the translators of the Bible into English, by King James, in 1604.[a] Dr Chambers was appointed an assistant to the commissioners for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient, ministers and schoolmasters. Oliver Cromwell, with the advice of his Council, published an ordinance, under the date of Aug. 28th, 1654, entitled, "An ordinance for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient, ministers and school-

[a] Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. Col. 608.

masters." This ordinance appoints, and nominates certain lay-commissioners for every county, and joins with them ten or more, of the gravest, and most notable, ministers, as their assistants, and empowers any five, or more of them, to call before them any public preacher, lecturer, parson, vicar, curate, or schoolmaster, who is, or shall be reputed ignorant, scandalous, insufficient or negligent; and to receive all articles or charges which should be exhibited against them; and to proceed in the examination and determination of such offences, according to certain rules which were agreed to.

The Wiltshire commissioners summoned Mr Walter Bushnel, Vicar of Box, near Malmsbury, before them, to answer to a charge of drunkenness, profanation of the Sabbath, gaming, and disaffection to the government; and after a full hearing, and proof upon oath, they ejected him. The Vicar prepared for the press a narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners appointed by Oliver Cromwell for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers, in the Case of Walter Bushnel, &c. but it was not printed till the King's restoration; and even then the commissioners did themselves justice in a reply, which they called, "A Vindication of the Marlborough Commissioners, by the Commissioners themselves." And Dr Chambers, who was reproached by Bushnel, justified himself, in a distinct vindication.[a]

After the King's Restoration, he kept his place until the very day when the Act of Uniformity commenced. Then, having preached his Farewell sermon from Psal. cxxvi. 6. that this life is a seed time for eternity, he went home, was seized with sickness presently and died. His mortal remains were buried in the church of Pewsey, on the 8th day of Sept. 1662, without the service of the church, which had just at that time taken place. And his wife was buried there also, about the same time. And by the favour of the noble Earl, who was his constant friend, the family obtained permission to remove the household-goods.[b]

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. chap. iii.
b Wood's Ath. vol. ii. and Calamy's Acc.

Dr Chambers' writings are;

Some sermons before the Parliament, and on other occasions; as, *A Divine Balance to weigh Religious Fasts in:* A sermon preached from Zech. vii. 5—7. before the House of Commons, Fast, Sept. 27th, 1643. 4to. pp. 44. London, 1643.—*Paul's Sad Farewell to his Ephesians:* A sermon preached from Acts xx. 37, 38. at the Funeral of Mr John Grayle, Minister of Tidworth, in the county of Wilts. 4to. London, 1655.—*Motives to Peace and Love.* 4to. 1649.—*Animadversions on Mr W. Dell's Book*, entitled, *The Crucified and Quickened Christian.* 4to. London, 1653.—*An Apology for the Ministers of the county of Wilts.* 4to. London, 1654. It is said, That in writing this *Apology*, Dr Chambers was assisted by Messrs J. Strickland, Adoniram Byfield and Peter Ince. And *an Answer to Mr Walter Bushnel, about the Proceedings of the Commissioners for ejecting Scandalous Ministers.* 4to. 1660.

FRANCIS CHEYNELL, D. D.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF MERTON-COLLEGE, OXFORD, PASTOR OF PETWORTH, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

FRANCIS CHEYNELL was born in Catstreet, in St Mary's parish, within the city of Oxford, in the year 1608; and he received baptism there, on the sixth of July, the same year. He was the son of John Cheynell, an eminently learned Doctor of Physic, and sometime fellow of C. C. College. His father is said to have been the most celebrated physician in Oxford, at that time. He bred his son, the illustrious subject of this Memoir, a scholar, and lived to see him Fellow of Merton-College. After he had been educated in grammar-learning, either in the school of that very notable Grecian, Edward Sylvester, who taught, at that time, in Allsaints parish, or, in the free-school of Magdalen-College, or, in both, he became a member of the famous University of Oxford,

in the beginning of the year 1623. And when Bachelor of Arts, of two years standing, or more, he was elected probationer Fellow of Merton-College, in 1629, where he resided several years. After he had proceeded in Arts, he entered into the sacred function, and was a curate in or near Oxford for some time. He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and was invited by Mr Holman, to accept a living from him, near Banbury, of several hundreds yearly. Here he lived sometime, and had a ruffle with Archbishop Laud, while in his height.

In every situation, he diligently cultivated those talents, which qualified him for his future and important services. Having spent much of his time in the College, he had acquired a very correct and extensive knowledge of books and of what belonged to his profession. And he constantly used his endeavours to promote his growth in the divine life, in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in fitness for his office, by reading, meditation, and prayer. He possessed a proper mixture of a studious disposition, and of an active spirit, which rendered him highly useful to the church. His real personal character was very plainly and fully unfolded, in those trying and troublesome times, in which he lived. Whatever he believed, he thought himself obliged to profess, and what he professed he was ready to defend. He was peculiarly bold in the cause of truth, and in the way of duty. He says, in a sermon before the House of Commons, from Zech. ii. 7.—" What upon prayer and study, God hath revealed by the clear texts of the *Revelation*, I will this day deliver unto you, though I were sure to die St John's death, or to be banished into St John's island.

When the civil war broke out between the King and Parliament, he took part with the Parliament. In the beginning of the war, he was mostly with the Earl of Essex. When he was with the Earl in Cornwall, he was a very goodly person, of great strength and undaunted courage. He now, indeed, added the praise of true valour to that of solid and useful learning. An eminent writer says, " He seems indeed to have been born a soldier, for he had an intrepidity which was never to

be shaken by any danger, and a spirit of enterprize not to be discouraged by difficulty, which were supported by an unusual degree of bodily strength." [a] Dr Calamy says, That his commands were as readily obeyed by any Colonels in that army as the General's own. He was,

> " In vice untaught, but skill'd where glory led
> To arduous enterprize."

Brave in action, and full of intelligence. He possessed true fortitude derived from the best sources. And fortitude, in the estimation of the Romans, was the principal quality of human nature, and the defeat of an enemy the chief of it's fruits. When he appeared in the field, and displayed his eminent zeal and undaunted resolution, he did not fight against either his king or his country; but for the right of both. He appeared in defence of the rights of both king and country; and chiefly of civil and religious liberty. During the time in which the illustrious Mr Hampden was engaged in the Civil Wars, he wore round his neck an ornament, consisting of a small silver chain, inclosing a plain Cornelian stone. Round the silver rim of the stone was inscribed,

> " Against my King I never fight,
> But for my King and Country's right."

Our reformers, in general, both in church and state, at that time, appeared for the right of both their King and their country, as their writings and testimonies fully evince. And, it was Mr Cheynell's daily prayer, That God would unite the King and Parliament, in the cause of Christ. He says, " Lord, be pleased to decide the controversy, let that side prevail which doth most sincerely desire thy glory, the King's good, the kingdom's welfare by an happy Reformation, and a Christian peace." [b] He had a very public spirit, and was a real lover of his country, and rendered signal services to it, but did not accumulate wealth. Among the Romans, riches were of no account in constituting rank. Men became eminent by rendering signal services to their country, not by accumulating wealth. In this manner, Cheynell became eminent. Ardent love to the Redeemer, excited him to proclaim his

a Johnson. b Epistle to his Serm. from Zech. ii. 7.

ineffable glories, appear openly and boldly in his cause, and to offer his invaluable benefits to the sons of men. In his ministry, he used not flattering words, nor a cloak of covetousness. He *renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but by manifestation of the truth commending himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God.*

Being now eminently distinguished by his useful learning, genuine piety, great abilities, and signal services to his country, he was appointed a member of the famous Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in the year 1643. He preached frequently before the members of Parliament. He embraced the Covenant, and was a very zealous covenanter, as appears by his writings. He was voted Parson of Petworth, a town in the county of Sussex, a rich parsonage then let for £700 yearly, by an Ordinance of Parliament. He was one of the select Committee, which was appointed by the Assembly of Divines, for the examination and approbation of such clergymen already in orders, as petitioned for sequestered livings.[a]

Mr Cheynell has been greatly blamed respecting his behaviour at Mr Chillingworth's funeral. Mr Chillingworth was born and educated at Oxford. He afterward turned Roman Catholic, and went to the Jesuits' College at St Omer's; but not being thoroughly satisfied in some of their principles, he returned to England, in 1631, and having embraced the Religion of the Church of England, he published a Treatise, entitled, "The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation." It was the general opinion that he was a Socinian; but in his last Letter at the end of his Works, he appears an Arian, according to Neal.—He served as engineer in Arundel Castle in Sussex, in the King's army, where he was taken prisoner, and when indisposed had the favour of being lodged in the bishop's house at Chichester, where he died, Jan. 20th, 1644. By the interest of Mr Cheynell, who attended Mr Chillingworth in his sickness, he was kindly used. Mr Cheynell wished that he would renounce some of his dangerous principles, and reasoned with him for

[a] Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. ch. ii.

that end, but could not prevail. He prayed fervently for him while he was alive, and excited others to join with him in his behalf: but he was greatly grieved and provoked by his obstinacy, and by the errors in his book, above-mentioned. At Mr Chillingworth's interment, he cast his book into the grave, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed Book, which hast seduced so many precious souls; get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten Book, earth to earth, and dust to dust; get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author, and see corruption."

Mr Cheynell's behaviour on this occasion was certainly very unbecoming and offensive. But the spirit of that man of God, the singularly meek Moses, was sometimes so stirred within him, that he both acted and spake in an improper manner. On a particular occasion, when highly provoked by the gross corruption of the children of Israel, and his anger waxed hot, he dashed the two tables of God's holy law to the ground, and brake them beneath the mount. And, he also spake unadvisedly with his lips, and incurred the displeasure of his heavenly Father. Beside, it should be observed, that Mr Cheynell's temper was hot, his zeal for God was ardent, the temptation was strong, and he was sometimes disordered in his brain. In such circumstances, it is not very strange, though a man's actions and words are sometimes unaccountable. He was not one of those cold-complexioned persons, nor probably wished to be regarded as such, who could endure to see men foaming out their own shame, in promoting error and corruption, without rising into indignation at the thought, and yielding to such animated expressions of his feeling, as that indignation must supply.

He was one of those Divines who were sent down by the Parliament to the Treaty of Uxbridge. He was also sent with other eminent Divines, for the reformation of the University of Oxford, about the beginning of Sept. 1646.[a] The University of Oxford was in the most deplorable condition, when it fell into the hands of the Parliament. The two Houses appointed seven of their most popular Divines to go to Oxford, with authority to preach in any pulpit in the University for six months, in order to soften

a See Life of Arrowsmith.

the spirits of the people, and to give them a better opinion of their cause. Mr Cheynell was in that number. The Ministers were very diligent in discharging their trust, preaching twice every Lord's-day. And they had a weekly conference every Thursday, in which they proposed to solve such objections as should be raised against their new Confession of Faith and Discipline; and to answer any other important cases in Divinity. The question, or case, was to be propounded the week before, that it might be well considered; a moderator was also appointed to keep order, who began and concluded with a short prayer; and the whole business was conducted with great decency and gravity. And, like Paul at Athens, *some mocked them, others slighted them; but certain men clave unto them, and believed.*

There being no prospect of reforming the University by these means, the Parliament proceeded to a visitation, and past an Ordinance for that purpose, May 1st, 1647. Mr Cheynell was also appointed one of the visitors of the University; and he was made President of St John's-College, and also Margaret Professor of the University, in the room of Dr Lawrence. He gave up both these places after some time for refusing the Engagement. He had now proceeded Doctor of Divinity, and retired to Petworth, where, Wood says, he remained an useful member for the Covenanting cause till the King's Restoration. He was unremittingly attentive to his charge there, and God crowned his labours with great success. He was very hospitable and charitable; and he never increased his estate by any of his preferments. He was sometimes disordered in his head, as above-mentioned, but he was perfectly recovered to a sound mind, some years before his death. He was cast out from the rich Living of Petworth by the Act for Uniformity. He afterward lived privately in a little village near Preston and Brighthelmstone in the county of Sussex, where he had an estate. He died at his house there, in Sept. 1665.

Dr Cheynell was exactly orthodox, and generally allowed to be a very pious and learned divine, and a man of great abilities, a good disputant and preacher.

Dr Cheynell has left several valuable written works *to praise him in the gate:*

1. *Zion's Memento, and God's Alarum:* A sermon from Zech. ii. 7. Fast, before the House of Commons, May 31st, 1643. 4to. pp. 45; with 7 pages of an Epistle prefixed; London, 1643. An excellent sermon.—2. *The Rise, Growth, and Danger, of Socinianism.* 4to. pp. 79. London, 1643. This learned work was ordered to be printed by a Committee of the House of Commons for printing, 18th April, 1643. It contains a plain discovery of the desperate design of corrupting the Protestant Religion, shewing, that what was so violently contended for by the Abp. of Canterbury and his adherents, is not the true and pure Protestant Religion, but a hotch-potch of Arminianism, Socinianism, and Popery. The author also maintains, That the Atheists, Anabaptists, and Sectaries, so much complained of, have been raised or encouraged by the doctrines and practices of the Arminian, Socinian, and Popish, party.—3. *Chillingworthi Novissima:* Or, *The Sickness, Heresy, Death, and Burial, of William Chillingworth.* 4to. pp. 61. London, 1643, and 1644.—4. *The Man of Honour Described:* A sermon from Psal. xlix. 20. Fast, before the House of Lords, March 26th, 1645. 4to. London, 1645.—5. *A Plot for the Good of Posterity:* A sermon from Gen. xviii. 19. to the House of Commons, March 25th, 1646. 4to. London, 1646.—6. *Divers Letters to Dr Jasp. Mayne, concerning false Prophets.* 4to. 1647.—7. A copy of some Letters which passed at Oxford, between him and Dr Hammond. 4to. London, 1647. —8. A Relation of a Disputation at Oxford, between Mr Cheynell, and Mr Erbury, a Socinian. 4to. London, 1646 –1647.—9. *The Divine Trinunity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.* 12mo. pp. 480. London, 1650. This elaborate work is in the catalogue of books in the Theological library, belonging to the students of divinity in the University of Edinburgh, 1757. And I have seen this and the author's other writings both in England and Scotland, in different places.—10. *A Discussion of Mr Fry's Tenets lately condemned in Parliament: and Socinianism proved to be an Unchristian Doctrine.*

PETER CLARK, M. A.

A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER, MINISTER AT CARNABY, AND KIRKBY-UNDERHILL, IN YORKSHIRE.

PETER CLARK was born at Beverly, a town in Yorkshire, in England, of pious parents. A Mr Peter Vinke, an eminently learned and pious divine, was often heard saying, "That he reckoned it a greater honour to have descended from pious ancestors, than if he could have derived his pedigree from the greatest princes." The subject of this memoir had the honour to have descended from pious parents. He received his first education at the place of his birth. He was eminently distinguished for his great proficiency at the school, in the early period of life. In due time, he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted student of St John's College, of which he was afterward Fellow. When he left the University, he settled at Carnaby, where his ministerial labours were acceptable and crowned with success. When the civil war commenced, he was forced to seek shelter at London, and was chosen a Member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. When the troubles came to an end, he returned into Yorkshire, where he was settled at Kirkby-Underhill, and he continued there until he was cast out by the Act of Uniformity. His name stands among the ejected or silenced Ministers, in the county of York, in Dr Calamy's Account. After his ejection, he retired with his wife and four children to Walkington near Hull, where he had a pretty estate which descended to him from his father. There he employed himself in teaching a private school, boarding gentlemen's sons in his house, some of whom were afterward both great ornaments and great blessings to their country. He continued there until the time of his death.[a] As the earth

a Dr Calamy's Account, vol. ii. 2d edit. p. 822.

is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, and he has the hearts of all flesh in his hand, and all events at his disposal, he can very easily make comfortable provision for his servants, and their families, and find useful employment for them, as seems good in his sight. *The Lord knoweth the days of the upright, and their inheritance shall be for ever. They shall not be ashamed in the evil time.* Psal. xxxvii. 18, 19.

I have not seen any of Mr Clark's writings; nor have I ever heard that he had any.

RICHARD CLEYTON, M. A. OF SHOWELL,

A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

RICHARD CLEYTON was one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and his name occurs in the list of the members of that Assembly in this manner, in my copy of Neal's list: "Mr Richard Clayton, of Showel." Dr Calamy mentions this; but he says, "It should be Mr *Richard Cleyton*, for that was his name." And I find in the ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for calling an assembly of learned and godly divines, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the church of England, he is called, *Richard Cleyton of Showell.* And in a list of those divines, which was printed with their Confession of Faith, Edinburgh, 1708, his name is, Richard Cleyton. Dr Calamy says, that he was told, Richard Cleyton was M. A. if not B. D. That he found his name to the Testimony of the Ministers in the province of Essex, to the truth of Jesus Christ, sent to the Ministers of London, and printed in 1648: But he subscribed there as Minister of Easton Magna in Essex. He

removed from Essex to Showell; which is a place near Lutterworth in Leicestershire. After some time, he removed to Seighford, in the county of Stafford, from which he was cast out, in the year 1662, by the Act of Uniformity. His name stands, among many worthy names, in the venerable list of the ejected or silenced Ministers, in the county of Stafford, in England, in Dr Calamy's Account and Continuation. Afterward, he removed to Nuneaton, in Warwickshire, where he lived several years. Dr Wild was there at the same time, and these two were like David and Jonathan, most harmoniously and affectionately united, in peculiar intimacy and friendship. Their sweet social intercourse afforded them much pleasure, and was highly beneficial to themselves, in their tribulations through which they must enter into the kingdom. *Then they who feared the Lord spake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened and heard: and a book of remembrance was written before him for them who feared the Lord, and who thought upon his name.*—Dr Calamy says, that " Mr Cleyton was a good scholar, a sound divine, and one of strict piety. He was very courteous and obliging in his temper and carriage, and at the same time very sedate and grave, but not morose. His whole life adorned religion and his sacred character. He was that perfect and upright man whom the Psalmist speaks of, whose *end* is said to be *peace.*" [a]

I have not received information whether Mr Cleyton has left behind him any writings *to praise him in the gate.*

[a] Calamy's Continuation, vol. ii. p. 784.

THOMAS COLEMAN, M. A.

MINISTER OF GOD'S WORD AT BLYTON, IN LINCOLNSHIRE, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

THOMAS COLEMAN was born in Oxfordshire. Wood says, that seemingly he was born within the city of Oxford, where several persons of his name and time have lived. And Neal says, that he was born at Oxford. He received his education in the ancient and famous University of Oxford. He made his first entry into Magdalen-Hall, in the beginning of the year 1615, in the seventeenth year of his age. He took the degrees in Arts, and in due time he received holy orders, and entered upon the ministerial work.

The Father of lights, the great author of every good and perfect gift, had conferred upon him distinguished genius and talents for learning the Hebrew language. For "No advantages of education, no favourable combination of circumstances, produce talents, where the Father of spirits dropped not the seeds of them in the souls which he made."[a] The Father of spirits having dropped the precious seeds of singular talents for Oriental learning in Mr Coleman, these talents were roused into exertion, unfolded, and greatly improved, by his education, and a favourable combination of circumstances, under Divine Providence. This plantation of the Lord was early and carefully watered and cultivated. And, by the close application of his vigorous mind to study, he became so complete a master of the Hebrew language, that he was commonly called *Rabbi Coleman.* His learning shed a peculiar lustre round his name. The powers of his mind were well cultivated by a liberal education.—Afterward, he was made Rector of Blyton, in Lincolnshire. At the beginning of the civil war, in

a Dr Erskine, Disc. viii. 1 Chron. xxix. 12.

1642, being persecuted by the cavaliers, or King's party, he was obliged to leave his Rectory of Blyton, and retire to London. Upon his arrival there, he was preferred to the Rectory of St. Peter's Church in Cornhill. And in 1643, he became a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Mr Wood says, "that he was chiefly called to sit in the Assembly for his knowledge in the Hebrew tongue; and that he behaved modestly and learnedly, maintaining among them the tenets of Erastus." It is certain, that Mr Coleman maintained very strenuously the tenets of Erastus in the Assembly, and was one of the chief patrons of this scheme.[a]

In order that every reader may have just conceptions of this subject, it may be necessary here to state what the sentiments of Erastus were respecting church-government. He maintained, That the Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles had prescribed no particular form of discipline for the Christian church in after ages, but had left the keys in the hands of the civil magistrate, who had the sole power of punishing transgressors, and of appointing such particular forms of church-government from time to time, as were most subservient to the peace and welfare of the commonwealth. The pastoral office, in his view, was only persuasive, as a professor of the sciences over his students, without any power of the keys annexed to it. He maintained, that the Lord's Supper and other ordinances of the gospel, were to be free and open to all. That the minister might dissuade the vicious and unqualified from the communion, but might not refuse it, nor inflict any kind of censure; the punishment of all offences, either of a civil or religious nature, being reserved to the civil magistrate.—The learned Dr Lightfoot was also a great patron of this scheme, in concurrence with Mr Coleman, in the Assembly of Divines. And some of the greatest names in the House of Commons appeared keenly for it. The several parties, in this famous Assembly, of Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians,

a Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 195. Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. under Erastians.

earnestly demanded that they should all make a very strict inquiry into the constitution of the primitive Christian Church, in the days of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ. That church being considered as founded upon the model of the Jewish synagogues, this investigation gave to Dr Lightfoot, Mr Coleman, Mr Selden, and other eminent masters of Jewish antiquities, an opportunity of displaying their superior learning, by strange interpretations of some parts of the Holy Scriptures.

When committees were chosen to prepare materials for a new form of discipline and church-government, the Independents agreed with the Presbyterians, that there was a certain form of church-government laid down in the New Testament, which was of divine institution. But when they came to the questions, What was that government? and, Was it binding in all ages of the church? both the Erastians and the Independents divided against the Presbyterians. The proposition was, "That the Scripture holds forth, that many particular congregations may, and by divine institution ought to be under one Presbyterial government." Mr Neal says, that the debate lasted thirty days; and that the Erastians did not except against the Presbyterial government as a political institution, proper to be established by the civil magistrate, but they were against the claim of a *divine right.*[a] And Mr Coleman was so very zealous upon this head, that he keenly declaimed against the Divine Right, not only in the Assembly, but also in the pulpit, apprehending that Presbytery would prove as arbitrary and tyrannical as Prelacy, if it came in with a divine claim. He therefore proposed, that the civil magistrate should have the sole power of the keys, in the mean time, until the nation should be at peace, or in a more settled state. The Independents opposed the proposition of the Divine Right of Presbytery, by advancing a contrary divine right of their own scheme. Fifteen days they stated themselves as opponents; and fifteen days they appeared in a defensive manner. The chief inquiries, in this grand debate, were,

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. under Erastians.

respecting the constitution and form of the first
Jerusalem; the subordination of synods, and of la
Much learning was displayed on both sides; but t
pillars of the Presbyterian government were vote
of divine appointment by a very great majority. The Independents entered their dissent in writing, and complained of unkindly usage in the Assembly. The Assembly replied, that they were not conscious of having done them any injustice. When the Erastians saw how affairs were managed in the Assembly, they reserved themselves for the House of Commons, where they were certain, that they would be readily joined both by their own party, and by all the patrons of the Independents. Accordingly, the clause of divine right was lost in the House of Commons, to the grief and disappointment both of the Scottish Commissioners, and of their English friends in the Assembly. And the Assembly's proposition was made to stand thus, "That it is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that the church be governed by Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies."[a] It is not strange, that the clause of divine right was lost in the House of Commons, if Mr Baillie writes correctly; for he says that "The most of the House of Commons are downright Erastians; they are like to create us much more woe than all the sectaries of England."[b]

The Erastians endeavoured to maintain their principles, by contending strenuously, that the Jewish church and state were all one. That they knew no distinction of ecclesiastical and civil laws, nor causes; for the church of the Jews was their commonwealth, and their commonwealth was their church, and the government of church and state among them was the very same. And consequently, that in the Jewish church, there was no church-government distinct from the civil government. Mr Coleman says, "I am sure the best reformed church that ever was went this way, I mean the church of Israel, which had no distinction of church-

a Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. under Erastians.
b Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 96.

government and civil government."[a] In opposition to this opinion of Mr Coleman, and of other Erastians, the learned, laborious, and pious, Mr Gillespie, with many other able divines, maintained, 1. That the Jewish church was formally distinct from the Jewish state. 2. That there was an ecclesiastical Sanhedrim and government distinct from the civil. 3. That there was an ecclesiastical excommunication, distinct from civil punishments. 4. That there was also in the Jewish church a public confession or declaration of repentance, and thereupon an admission again of the offender to fellowship with the church in the holy things. 5. That there was a suspension of the profane person from the temple and passover.[b]

Mr Gillespie, in tracing the rise, growth, decay, and reviving, of Erastianism, says, That it has not the honour of being descended from honest parents. The *father* of it is the *old serpent;* it's mother is the enmity of our nature against the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the midwife, who brought this unhappy brood into the light of the world, was Thomas Erastus, Doctor of Medicine, at Heidelberg. The Erastian error being born, the breasts which gave it suck were *profaneness* and *self-interest;* it's strong food, when advanced in growth, was arbitrary government; and it's careful tutor was Arminianism. But, nevertheless, it afterward fell into a deadly decay, the Reformed churches refusing to receive and entertain it, and so leaving it exposed to hunger and cold, to shame and nakedness; Erastus himself making some concessions, respecting the ecclesiastical censure of profane persons; and several very eminent divines making their appearance with great courage and force of solid argument against it.[c]

a Mr Coleman's Brotherly Examination Re-examined, p. 16.

b Aaron's Rod Blossoming, book i. chap. 2. Readers who wish to have a clear view of the Erastian controversy, in that period, and to see an able confutation of Erastian principles, respecting church-government, may consult, with interest, this learned, elaborate, and masterly performance, by Mr Gillespie.

c As Beza, de Excomm. & Presb. contra Erast. Ursinus, Judicium de disciplina Eccl. et Excommunicatione. Casp. Broch-

When Erastianism is said to have been at the gates of death, Mr Coleman endeavoured, with all his abilities and learning, to raise it up again. Mr Gillespie says, that though Mr Coleman was the first man, he was not the only man, who appeared in the Erastian controversy in England. He appeared publicly in this controversy, in a sermon which he preached to the House of Commons, from Job xi. 20. in Margaret's Westminster, July 30th, 1645, at the monthly Fast. It is observable, that Mr Coleman was not thanked for this sermon, according to custom, but only ordered to print it. The order runs thus: " Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That Mr Coleman be injoined to print his sermon he preached before the House of Commons the last Fast, as near as he can as he preached it. And Sir John Wray is appointed to give him notice of this Order." Mr Coleman, in his epistle dedicatory to the House of Commons, says, " There was never a sermon preached on these public Fasts, that was received with such contrary affections, and censures, as this; some approving above commendation, others disliking below detestation." He brought forth in this sermon some things which produced much speculation, and engaged him in a warm debate respecting the Erastian controversy, with the celebrated Mr Gillespie, who was one of the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

Mr Coleman in this sermon says, " All eyes are upon government, they look upon it, as the only help. If any where, here let wisdom be used. To prescribe is above me, only let me offer two or three rules, which may either be helpful to the work, or useful to the workmen.

1. *Establish as few things by Divine Right, as can well be.* Hold out the practice, but not the ground: it will gather more, nay all, that hold it not unlawful, men differently principled may meet in one practice. It may

mand, a Lutheran, System. Theol. Tom. 2. Artic de disciplina Eccl. and many others.

be will be of larger extent than it must be. This (the Divine Right) was the only thing, that hindered union in the Assembly. Two parties came biased, the one with a National determination, the other with a Congregational engagement. The reverend Commissioners from Scotland were for the *Divine Right* of the Presbyterial. The Independents for the Congregational government. How should either move, where should they both meet? Here was the great bar, which if you can avoid, you may do much.

2. *Let all precepts, held out as divine institutions, have clear Scriptures.*—I could never yet see, how two co-ordinate governments exempt from superiority and inferiority can be in one state, and in Scripture no such thing is found, that I know of. That place, 1 Cor. v. takes not hold on my conscience for excommunication, and I admire, that Mat. xviii. should upon any; yet these two are the common places on which are erected the chiefest acts of ruling. And when I see not an institution, nor any one act of government in the whole Bible performed, how can it be evinced, that a Ruling Elder is an instituted officer? Let the Scripture speak expressly, and institutions appear institutions, and all must bow.

3. *Lay no more burden of government upon the shoulders of Ministers, than Christ hath plainly laid upon them.*—The Ministers have other work to do, and such as will take up the whole man, might I measure others by myself.—It was the king of Sodom's speech to Abraham, Give me the persons, take thou the goods: so say I, Give us doctrine, take you the government. As is said, Right Honourable, give me leave to make this request, in the behalf of the ministry, give us two things, and we shall do well;—learning and a competency.

4. *A Christian Magistrate, as a Christian Magistrate, is a governor in the Church.*—Christ has placed governments in his church, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Of other governments, beside magistracy, I find no institution; of them I do, Rom. xiii. 1, 2. I find all government given to Christ, and to Christ as Mediator, Eph. i. 22, 23. I desire all to consider it.—To rob the kingdom of Christ of the

magistrate, and his governing power, I cannot excuse, no not from a kind of sacrilege, if the magistrate be his."

These are Mr Coleman's four rules for promoting unity, and settling controversies respecting church government. The celebrated Mr Gillespie, in his Brotherly Examination of these rules, says, That Mr Coleman's cure is worse than the disease, and that instead of making any agreement, he was likely to have his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him. Mr Gillespie proceeds, after this remark, to examine the above-mentioned rules, in their order, in the following manner.

1. *Establish as few things by Divine Right, as can well be.* Which is by interpretation, as little fine gold, and as much dross, as can well be. *The words of the Lord are pure words; as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times,* Psal. xii. 6. What you take from the Word of God is *fine gold tried in the fire.* But a holy thing of man's devising is the dross of silver. Can he not be content to have the dross purged from the silver, except the silver itself be cast away? The very contrary rule is more sure and safe, which I prove thus. If it be a sin to diminish, or take any thing from the Word of God, so that it is forbidden under pain of taking away a man's part out of the book of life, out of the holy city: then as many things are to be established by Divine Right, as can well be. But it is a sin to diminish, or take any thing from the Word of God, so that it is forbidden under pain of taking away a man's part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city. Therefore, as many things are to be established by Divine Right, as can well be. The question is not now, whether this or that form of church-government be by Divine Right; but whether a church-government be by Divine Right? Has Jesus Christ so revealed his will in his word, that there should be church-censures, and that those should be dispensed by church-officers? Mr Coleman is for the negative.—*The Divine Right* is said to be *the only thing which hindered union in the Assembly.* Mr Gillespie says, If it was so, how shall Mr Coleman make himself blameless, who made union in the Assembly yet more difficult, because he

came biased a third way, with the Erastian tenets? He asks, Where the Independents and we should meet? I answer, in holding a church-government by Divine Right, that is, that the pastors and elders ought to suspend or excommunicate, according to the degree of the offence, scandalous sinners. Who can tell, but the purging of the church from scandals, and keeping the ordinances pure, when it shall be actually seen to be the great thing which is carefully attended to on both sides, may make union between us and the Independents more easily than many persons imagine. Respecting his exception against us, who are Commissioners from the Church of Scotland, I thank God, it is but such, yea not so much as the Arminians objected against the foreign divines who came to the Synod of Dort. They complained, that those divines were pre-engaged, and biased, respecting the judgment of those churches from which they came: and therefore they did not help but hinder union in that Assembly. And might not the Arians have thus objected to Alexander, who was engaged against them before he came to the Council of Nice? Might not the Nestorians have made the same objection to Cyril, because he was under an engagement against them, before he came to the Council of Ephesus? —It is no fault to be engaged for the truth, but against the truth. It is not blame-worthy, but praise-worthy, to hold fast our attainments. Notwithstanding, we have also from the beginning professed, *That we are most willing to hear and learn from the word of God, what needs farther to be reformed in the Church of Scotland.*

2. *Let all precepts, held out as divine institutions, have clear Scriptures—let the Scripture speak expressly.* Mr Gillespie says, The Scripture speaks in that manner, which seemed fittest to the wisdom of God, that is, so as it must cost us much searching of the Scripture, as men search for hidden treasure, before we find out what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God respecting the government of his church. Will any divine deny, that it is a divine truth, which by necessary consequence is drawn from Scripture, as well as what in express words and syllables is written in it? Are not several

articles of our profession, as baptism of infants, certainly proved from Scripture, though it make no express mention thereof in words?—He says, *I could never yet see how two co-ordinate governments exempt from superiority and inferiority, can be in one state.* I suppose he has seen the co-ordinate governments of a general, and of an admiral; or if we should come lower, the governments of parents over their children, and masters over their servants, though it often fall out, that he who is subject to one man as his master, is subject to another man as his father. In one ship, there may be two co-ordinate governments, the captain governing the soldiers, and the master governing the mariners. In these, and in such like cases, you have two co-ordinate governments, when the one governor is not subordinate to the other. After other remarks here, Mr Gillespie adds, "But the reverend brother might well have spared this. It is not the independency of the church-government upon the civil government, which he intended to speak against. It is the very thing itself, a church-government, as is manifest by his other two rules."

Then he comes to his third rule, *Lay no more burden of government upon the shoulders of Ministers, than Christ has plainly laid upon them.* He means none at all, as is manifest not only by his fourth rule, under which he says, That he finds no institution of other governments beside magistracy, but also by the next words here, *The Ministers have other work to do, and such as will take up the whole man.*—You see his words tend to the taking away of all church-government out of the hands of church-officers.—Respecting Mr Coleman's observation on the king of Sodom's speech to Abraham, Gen. xiv 21.—*learning and a competency*, Mr Gillespie very ingeniously remarks: This calls to mind a story which Clemens Alexandrinus tells us. When one had painted Helena with much gold, Apelles, looking upon the picture, said, *Friend, when you could not make her fair, you have made her rich.* Learning and competency enrich. The Jesuites have enough of both. But *government and discipline;* the removal of scandals, and the

preservation of the ordinances from pollution, make the church externally fair: *beautiful as Tirzah, and comely as Jerusalem.* He had spoken more for the honour of God, and for the power of godliness, if he had said in behalf of the ministry, It were better for us to want competency and helps to learning, than to partake with other men's sins, by admitting the scandalous and profane to the Lord's table.—

Mr Coleman, under his fourth rule, says, *Of other governments, beside magistracy, I find no institution; of them I do.* Mr Gillespie says, I am sorry that he sought no better, else he had found more. Subjection and obedience are commanded, as due, not only to civil, but also to spiritual governors, to those *who are over us in the Lord,* 1 Thes. v. 12. so 1 Tim. v. 17. Heb. xiii. 7—17. And what understands he by him who rules, Rom. xii. 8? If the judgment of Gualther and of Bullinger has any weight with him, as I suppose it has, they do not there exclude, but take in, under that word, the ruling officers of the church.[a]

This debate, between Mr Coleman and Mr Gillespie, was carried on in writing, by several pamphlets, to a great extent. Beside what Mr Gillespie advanced on the subject, in his sermon from Mal. iii. 2. before the House of Lords, 27th Aug. 1645, he added to that sermon, "A Brotherly Examination of some passages of Mr Coleman's Sermon from Job xi. 20." Both were printed. Upon the publication of these, Mr Coleman published, "A Brotherly Examination Re-examined." This was followed by "*Nihil Respondes*, Thou answerest nothing," by Mr Gillespie. Mr Coleman published A Brief Reply to Mr Gillespie's Nihil Respondes, which is entitled, "*Maledicis Maledicis*, Thou Indeed Speakest Amiss." Mr Gillespie published An Answer to Mr Coleman's Maledicis, which is entitled, "*Male Audis*, Thou Hearest Amiss."—I have seen some other pamphlets on the Eras-

a Mr. Gillespie's Brotherly Examination of some passages of Mr Coleman's Sermon, from Job xi. 20. where the reader may find more on the subject.

tian controversy, on both sides, which were written at that time, and have a particular reference to this controversy, as it was carried on by Mr Coleman and Mr Gillispie. As Mr Hussey's Plea for Christian Magistracy, on Mr Coleman's side; and A Brief View of Mr Coleman's New Model of Church-government, by an anonymous author, on Mr Gillespie's side.

Mr Coleman engaged also in a public debate, respecting the Erastian controversy, in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, against the following proposition: *Jesus Christ, as King and Head of his church, hath appointed a government in the church, in the hands of church-officers, distinct from the civil government.* He argued some days against this proposition, having full liberty both to argue and to reply as much as he pleased. But he was visited with sickness, at that time, and could not proceed in the debate. Under his sickness, he caused intimation to be made to the Assembly, that he wished them to lay aside that proposition for some time, that if God should be pleased to give him health again, he might resume his debate. The Assembly complied with his request; but the Lord, who has the hearts of all flesh in his hand, and all events at his disposal, was pleased to remove him by death, before he could accomplish his designs in this, and in some other particulars. It is said, that he intended to translate and to publish in English the book of Erastus against excommunication.[a] Mr Neal says, that Mr Lightfoot entered his dissent respecting the above proposition, with whom Mr Coleman would have joined if he had not fallen sick at this juncture and died.[b]

Mr Coleman was also much against Prelacy. He sufficiently raises his testimony, in all his writings, against the ambitious tyrannical prelacy of those times, and the gross corruption which abounded. He preached several times to the Parliament, and closely applied his doctrine to the sins of the times; the then prevailing evils. In one of his sermons to the House of Commons, he says:—

a Aaron's Rod Blossoming, Book ii. chap. i. p. 168.
b Neal's Hist. vol. iii. chap. vii. 1646.

" Our formalities and government, in the whole hierarchy, are become a fretting gangrene, a spreading leprosy, an insupportable tyranny. Up with it, up with it to the bottom, root and branch, hip and thigh: destroy these Amalekites, and let their place be no more found. I mean not the persons, but the pride, and power, and offices, of the whole rabble." [a]—" What kind of men were ordinarily seated in our Cathedrals? In a great part of late they are become the nests of idle drones, and the roosting places of superstitious formalities." [b] And, " Let popery find no favour, because it is treasonable; prelacy as little, because it is tyrannical: but establish God's truth and ways." [c]

A zealous historian, speaking in a scornful manner, says, " This was rare stuff for the blades at Westminster, and pleased them admirably well." And speaking of those divines who preached before the Parliament, the same author says, " Another of these brawlers, who seldom thought of a bishop, or the king's party, but with indignation, was Mr Thomas Coleman."—*Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.* I suppose that those persons who had felt the iron rod of the prelates, at that time in England, would readily allow, that there was certainly too much truth in Mr Coleman's remarks.

Wood says, that he was *a grand covenanter.* It is certain, that he was eminently zealous for the covenant, and preached a sermon, which has been published, at the public entering into it. In this sermon, he says, " You of our brethren of Scotland, come you and enter into this sure covenant. Lay the foundation of such an eternal league and peace, that the sun shall never see broken: all your countrymen, your kingdom are not here. Let your forwardness to this work tell us, what they would do, if they were."

During the grand debate in the Assembly at Westminster respecting church-government, he was attacked

a Serm. from Jer. viii. 20. p. 24. b Ibid. p. 39. c Ibid. p. 64.

with sickness, and his complaint rapidly increasing, he died in a few days, and the whole Assembly paid the last tribute of respect to his memory by attending his funeral in a body, on the 20th of March, 1647.

Mr Coleman was of Erastian principles respecting church-government; but he is generally allowed to have been a very learned and pious divine. Fuller says, that he was "a modest and learned divine, equally averse to Presbytery and Prelacy."

Mr Coleman has written and published;

1. *The Christian's Course and Complaint, both in the pursuit of Happiness desired, and for Advantages slipped in that pursuit:* a Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, from Jer. viii. 20. on the day of the Monthly Fast, Aug. 30th, 1643, at Margaret's Church, Westminster. 4to. pp. 71, with an Epistle Dedicatory to the Honourable House of Commons, consisting of four pages, closely printed, under the date of Sept. 11th, 1643. London, 1643. At the end of this sermon is added, "A Thanksgiving unto God taken out of the Form of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments used in the Church of Scotland, after their deliverance from the tyranny of the Frenchmen, by the English: with prayers made for the continuation of peace between the realms of England and Scotland. Printed at Edinburgh, by Thomas Bassandine, in the year of our Lord, 1575." A truly valuable and pious piece of curiosity.

2. *The Heart's Engagement:* a Sermon preached from Jer. xxx. 21, last clause of the verse, at Margaret's Church, Westminster, at the public entering into the Covenant, Sept. 29th, 1643. 4to. London, 1643. Glasgow, 1741, and 1799, in a Collection of Sermons and Speeches at taking the Covenant.

3. *God's Unusual Answer to a Solemn Fast:* a Sermon preached from Psal. lxv. 5. before both Houses of Parliament, at an extraordinary Fast, Sept. 12th, 1644. 4to. pp. 30. London, 1644.

4. *Hopes Deferred and Dashed:* a Sermon preached from Job xi. 20, to the Honourable House of Commons,

in Margaret's Church, Westminster, July 30th, 1645, the day of the Monthly Fast. 4to. pp. 35. London, 1645.

5. *A Brotherly Examination Re-examined:* or, a clear Justification of those Passages in a Sermon, against which Mr Gillespie did both preach and write. 4to. London, 1646. To this piece is added, A short Discovery of some Tenets which intrench upon the Honour and Power of Parliaments.

6. *Maledicis Maledicis:* or, A Brief Reply to Mr Gillespie's Nihil Respondes. Also,

7. *The Brief View Briefly Viewed.* Being Animadversions upon a nameless author, in a book, called, A Brief View of Mr Coleman's New Model. 4to. pp. 39. London, 1646.

JOHN CONANT, D. D.

AN EMINENT ENGLISH DIVINE.

JOHN CONANT was born at Yeatenton, a small village in Devonshire, England, upon the 18th of October, in the year 1608. He was descended from a very good family, of a competent estate. The family had flourished many years in that county, but was originally *French.* The illustrious subject of these memoirs was educated in classical learning at private schools, under the inspection of his uncle. the Rev. John Conant; who entered him a student of Exeter-College in Oxford. in the year 1626. In that famous Seminary, he studied with unremitting diligence, and exhibited those distinguishing abilities which he displayed in the succeeding part of his life. To men of such indefatigable industry, we are much indebted. The vigour and activity of his mind were great. And by close application, he was soon eminently distinguished, as a linguist. for the purity and perspicuity of his Latin style, and his particular acquaintance with the Greek language. He was so complete a Master of the

Greek, that he often disputed publicly in that language in the schools. He gained the esteem and respect of his superiors; and was accounted one of the most able disputants in the public schools. He maintained at the same time the most regular and irreproachable manners. His extraordinary accomplishments recommended him very highly to Dr John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-College, who applauded him by the following witticism upon his name: *Conanti nihil difficile.* To him who *endeavours* nothing is difficult. The force of the expression is lost in a translation. In one sense, it implies, to him who endeavours, every thing is easy; and in another, there is nothing difficult to Conant. Dr Prideaux was also at that time the King's Professor of Divinity; and he was accustomed to say, respecting this excellent scholar, "*Jack Conant* will have my place." And it is remarkable, that both those eminent places then enjoyed by Dr Prideaux, were afterward conferred on Dr Conant. He took his degrees regularly; and, upon the third of July 1633, he was chosen Fellow of Exeter-College, in which he became a very eminent tutor. It is said, that his fame, as a tutor, procured him pupils from the best families in England.

Upon the commencement of the civil war, between the King and the Parliament, the greater part of his pupils left the University; and he thought it most expedient to retire himself, which he did in the year 1642, after having first obtained Deacon's orders, and been qualified by the more appropriate studies for the useful discharge of the ministerial function. He went first to Lymington, in Somersetshire, where his uncle and namesake was minister. His uncle being fled, in these troublesome times, and he then in orders, he officiated there as long as he could continue with safety. It is said, That while he was at Lymington, he was constituted by the Parliament a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; but that he never sat among them, or at least very seldom, since it is certain, that he never took the covenant.[a] Be that as

[a] Middleton's Biogr. Evan. vol. iv. Gen. Biogr. vol. iii.

it may, he followed his uncle to London, and assisted him sometime in the discharge of the pastoral duties, in a parish of that city. He became a domestic chaplain to Lord Chandos, in whose family he lived at Harefield, near Uxbridge, in Middlesex. While he continued with his Lordship, he had a gratuitous lecture at Uxbridge, upon a work-day, to numerous audiences, with very great applause. He resigned his Fellowship of Exeter-College, on the 27th of Sept. in the year 1647; but, upon the 7th of June 1649, he was unanimously chosen Rector of that College, on the death of Dr Hakewell: a strong proof of the high esteem in which he was held, by that learned Society where he had been educated. He obtained that place without any application of his own; and keeping up a severe discipline, Exeter-College flourished, during his time, more than any College in Oxford, according to Wood. In a very short time, however, after he was comfortably settled, in that honourable office, he was in great danger of being driven again out of all public employment, by the Parliament's enjoining what was called the Engagement, which he did not take within the time which was prescribed. His principles, and the regulations of the then ruling powers, did not agree. He was allowed a fort-night for deliberation on the subject, and permitted to subscribe with a very peculiar explanatory declaration, his character being held in very high estimation. The terms of the engagement were: "You shall promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established without King or House of Lords." Mr Conant's declaration before the commissioners, when he took the engagement, was in this form: "Being required to subscribe, I humbly promise, First, That I be not hereby understood to approve of what hath been done in order unto, or under this present government, or the government itself: Nor will I be thought to condemn it, they being things above my reach, and I not knowing the grounds of the proceedings. Secondly, That I do not bind myself to do any thing contrary to the Word of God. Thirdly, That I do not so hereby bind myself,

but that, if God shall remarkably call me to submit to any other power, I may be at liberty to obey that call, notwithstanding the present engagement. Fourthly, In this sense, and in this sense only, I do promise to be true and faithful to the present government, as it is now established without King or House of Lords."

Having surmounted this difficulty, he went on to discharge the duties of his office of Rector of Exeter-College with peculiar zeal and diligence. In this dignified situation, he soon acquired the esteem and approbation of all whose support could afford him any encouragement. He applied himself, with great success, to restore the reputation of the revenues of his College, which, by sums of money advanced for the king's assistance, and by different calamities, had become very much embarrassed. What was of far greater utility and importance, he was peculiarly attentive to the restoration and maintenance of proper discipline. To this great object he cheerfully devoted himself with indefatigable ardour, intense application, great watchfulness, and prudence, until he had secured to his College so high a reputation in that fundamental point, that it overflowed with students from every part of the nation, and even from foreign countries. Many of these students were eminently distinguished for their literary attainments, or afterward filled respectable situations, both in the state, and in the church. In the year 1654, he was admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and in Dec. the same year, he was appointed Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, in the place of Dr Hoyle, who was deceased. This appointment afforded great satisfaction to numerous and learned auditors who attended his lectures. In the year 1657, he accepted the impropriate Rectory of Abergeley near St. Asaph in Denbighshire, as some satisfaction for the benefices, formerly annexed to the Divinity-chair, which he never enjoyed, but knowing that it had belonged to the Bishopric of St Asaph, he immediately quitted it, upon the establishment of episcopacy. On the 19th of Oct. 1657, he was raised to the high dignity of Vice-chancellor of that famous University, which he held until the first of

August 1660. He preached often both on Sabbath and work-days in different churches in Oxford, without accepting any compensation for his services. In the honourable office which he now filled, he eminently distinguished himself by the correction of abuses; the regulation of the public exercises, in such a manner as proved highly beneficial to the interests of religion and of solid learning; by being instrumental in procuring Mr Selden's large and valuable collection of books for the public library; and by great vigilance and firmness in his attention to the rights and privileges of the University. He is also said to have had a considerable share in defeating a design for erecting an University at Durham, to which the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, had given his consent. His prejudices in favour of the body over which he presided, and of the other University, might lead him to hinder this measure, which might have proved highly beneficial to the northern counties of England. Their distance from the grand seats of learning occasions much inconvenience and expence, and may deprive some persons of the advantages of a liberal education, who might enjoy it, if there was an University at Durham, or some more central place.

Upon the restoration of King Charles Second, Dr Conant, as Vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, came up to London, attended by the Proctors of the University, and many of the most illustrious and learned members thereof, to present a congratulatory address to his majesty. The Doctor was introduced to the king, to whom he made a Latin speech, and presented a book of verses, which were written by the members of the University. On the 25th of March 1661, the king issued a commission for reviewing the Book of Common Prayer. Dr Conant was appointed one of the Commissioners, and assisted in conducting the conferences at the Savoy. He is placed among those divines who were for alterations in the hierarchy of the Church. And afterward, when the act of uniformity had passed, he could not submit to its terms. He refused to conform to the ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England. He was then deprived of his

preferments, and disabled from the public exercise of his ministerial duties, and accordingly his Rectory of Exeter-College was pronounced vacant, upon the first of Sept. 1662.

He continued in this state about eight years. A Mr Edmund Trench, who had been determined for the ministry, and was very willing to have conformed, but had some scruples which he could not remove, sent his scruples to Dr Conant for his resolution. After half a year's expectation, the Doctor sent him the following message; That *upon the most serious thoughts he could hardly satisfy himself; and therefore would never persuade any to conform while he lived.*[a] But, after eight year's deliberation upon the interesting subject of conformity, Dr Conant himself complied, and was re-ordained upon the 28th of Sept. in 1670, by Dr Reynold's, bishop of Norwich; whose daughter he had married in Aug. 1651, and by whom he had six sons and as many daughters. Preferments were offered him immediately, and on the 18th of Dec. 1670, he was elected Minister of Mary Aldermanbury, in London; but having spent some years in the town of Northampton, where he was much respected and beloved, he fixed his choice rather on that place, and accepted the invitation of his acquaintance and neighbours to remain among them. And Dr Simon Ford, who was then Minister of All-Saints, in the ancient burough of Northampton, going to Mary's Aldermanburry, Dr Conant was nominated to succeed him at Northampton, where he continued until his death.

On the 20th of Sept 1675, he had the mortification to see the greatest part of his parish, together with his church, burned to the ground, though in the goodness of Divine Providence his own house was mercifully preserved. He makes some very pertinent remarks, enforcing religious duties, respecting this alarming dispensation of Divine Providence, in his Sermon from Ezra ix. 13, 14. vol. 1. He says, "Though God hath severely handled us, yet he *hath in wrath remembered mercy, and*

a Calamy's Account, vol. ii. pp. 389, 390.

punished us less than our iniquities deserve. If we take a true estimate of his dealings with us, we cannot chuse but discern much lenity and moderation, much tenderness and compassion to have been mingled with his severity, in many respects. 1. He who turned your houses into ashes and rubbish, and took away a great part of your substance, might have taken all, and left you nothing. 2. He might by the same terrible fire that deprived you of your estate, have also deprived you of your children and dearest relations. The loss of one child in such a way of terrible Providence would have troubled you more, and have gone nearer your heart than the loss of all your estate. 3. It might have been your own lot to have perished in the flames. God who mercifully spared you, and rescued you from the violence of the fire, might by it have hurried you out of this world into hell, and sent you from one fire to another. This fire was terrible, but the unquenchable fire of hell had been much more terrible.—How mercifully and favourably hath God treated you amid his greatest severities, seeing none of these things have befallen you, or any of your's! O then go one step further with Ezra in the text, and say, *After all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass, and seeing thou hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, should we again break thy commandments?*"

A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver. This able spiritual instructor very wisely adapted his public discourses to the particular circumstances and necessities of his hearers, as the prudent householder *gives to every one his portion of meat in due season.* On the 8th of June in 1676, he was installed Archdeacon of Norwich, in the place of Mr John Reynolds, his brother-in-law, deceased. The Bishop offered him that preferment, with this singular compliment, "I do not expect thanks from you, but I shall be very thankful to you if you will accept of it." He accepted it after some deliberation, and discharged the office in a very becoming manner, as long as health permitted him.

It should be observed here, that he constantly resided

in his parish, except when his other offices absolutely required his attendance, and always officiated in person, preaching twice every Lord's day, and carefully inculcating practical religion in the plainest and most pathetic language. He composed his sermons in such a manner, that the meanest person might understand them, and the most judicious had no cause to despise them. He neither offended the weak brother, nor gave advantage to the malicious critic. In the evenings he catechised the children; and among them his own were always present. He was peculiarly attentive to the visitation of the sick. His clerk had strict orders to inform him when any persons were sick; and then, without staying to be sent for, he readily waited upon the meanest of his flock. He entered the cottages of the poor, as willingly as the houses of the rich. He was no respecter of persons. He was not afraid to speak freely when it was necessary. Where he saw the appearance of indigence, he relieved in a bountiful manner. He was very charitable in general. At Northampton, for twenty years together, he paid for the schooling of poor children, never fewer than twenty-four, and sometimes nearer forty; and these he placed out with several needy widows. that what he gave might contribute to their assistance. He was, upon all occasions, ready to promote the relief sought by strangers; of which various instances are given in his son's memoirs. He was one of the most remarkable casuists in his time, and was not only resorted to by some persons who lived at a great distance, but his advice was also asked, by letters, even from foreigners. As his duties occupied a great part of his time, his necessary relaxations were short, and such as few persons would have accounted recreation. Reading a few pages in the classics, hearing some remarkable piece of history, and discoursing upon it to his children, or explaining to them some point in Natural Philosophy, that they might have just conceptions of the wisdom of Divine Providence, and an early impression of the reverence due to it's glorious Author, are said to have been his only diversions. "He knew the worth of time too well, to trifle it away in vain amusements, in idle visits,

in unprofitable studies, or needlessly to immerse himself in secular business, in political schemes, or any thing else foreign to his office. Impatient of whatever would divert him from his work, or retard him in it, he counted those hours lost, in which he was not either getting good to his own soul, doing good to the souls of others, or acquiring greater fitness for his important trust." But with all his strictness of manners, he had nothing either of moroseness or pride. He possessed great evenness of temper, which never rose higher than being cheerful. He was not depressed by temporal losses or bodily pain. He was clothed with humility, which appeared with peculiar lustre upon all occasions. He despised form and ceremonies; yet, from natural sweetness of temper, he was affable, kind and condescending to all, even to the meanest person in his parish.

Upon the 3d of Dec. 1681, he was installed a Prebendary in the church of Worcester. The Earl of Radnor, an old friend and contemporary of his at Exeter-College, asked it for him from King Charles Second, in the following terms: "Sir, I come to beg a preferment of you for a very deserving person, who never sought any thing for himself;" and upon naming him, the king very kindly consented.

In the year 1686, after his eyes had been sometime weak, he lost his sight entirely; but he did not die until the 12th of March, 1693, when he was in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He bore his affliction with very much Christian resignation. His mortal remains were buried in his own parish church of All-Saints in Northampton, where a monument was erected over him by his widow with a suitable inscription. He left behind him a son of both his names, Doctor of the Civil Law, sometime Fellow of Merton-College, and an eminent Advocate.

Doctor Conant was a man of very solid and extensive learning; yet so modest, it is said, that though he understood most of the Oriental languages, and was particularly versed in the Syriac, few people knew it. Dr Calamy, in his Account of the ejected Ministers, vol. ii. p. 76, says: "Neither must I forget that excellent person, John

Conant, D. D. Rector of Exeter-College, who having been one of the Commissioners at the Savoy, left his place in 1662, and continued a Non-conformist seven years or thereabouts, and at last conformed, and became a Minister in Northampton. But his temper was so like that of his ejected brethren, and he preached with that plainness, and that care to approve himself to the consciences of all, that both by such as were in the Church, and such as were out of it, he was generally ranked with the Presbyterians all his days.

Six volumes of Dr Conant's Sermons have been published: The first, London, in 1693, and dedicated by himself to the inhabitants of Northampton, and more especially to those of the parish of All-Saints there; the second after his death, in 1697, by John Bishop of Chichester; the third in 1690; the fourth in 1703; the fifth in 1708, by the same Editor; the sixth in 1722, by Digby Cotes, M. A Principal of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford; all in 8vo. Dr Conant's Sermons were advertised for sale in Mr Ogle's Theological Catalogue, London, 1811, p. 119, 6 vols. 18s.

There were two men of the name of John Conant, in England, at that time, who were both very eminent and learned divines; the uncle and the nephew. They were both Fellows of Exeter-College in Oxford; and they seem to have been confounded by several writers. It has been said by different writers, that while Dr Conant, who was born at Yeatenton in 1608, was at Lymington officiating in his uncle's place, he was constituted by the Parliament one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. This is seemingly a mistake; for in the ordinance of Parliament, for calling an Assembly of Divines, John Conant of Lymington, Bachelor in Divinity, is mentioned. This John Conant was Rector, or Pastor, of Lymington, several years; at least from 1620 to 1643, when he was called to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; but how long before or after these dates, I cannot tell.

In writing the above account of the learned and pious Dr Conant, who went to the College in the year 1626, and removed from the University in the year 1642, I very much doubted if he was the John Conant, who was the member of the Assembly of Divines. Having always endeavoured to render this work as correct and full as possible, the account of Dr Conant was written with the utmost care and caution respecting this matter; and all sources of information which I had have now been carefully consulted. Wood, who is generally very correct in such matters, in his Account of Dr Conant, makes no mention of his being a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, nor of his being called to sit there, which he would very readily have done, if he had been a member of that conspicuous body. But Wood says, that John Conant, who was Rector of Lymington Somersetshire, was one of the Assembly of Divines. Giving an account of his commencing Bachelor of Divinity, in the year 1620, he says: "John Conant, lately Fellow of Exeter-College, now Rector of Lymington in Somersetshire.—He was afterward one of the Assembly of Divines, and the writer and publisher of *The Woe and Weal of God's People:* Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, 26th July 1643, on Jer. xxx. 7. London, 1643. 4to.; and another on Lam. iii. 31, 32, printed the same year in 4to. But this last I have not yet seen, or any thing else of his extant." [a]

It is now my opinion that not Dr Conant, but John Conant, B. D. and Pastor of Lymington in Somersetshire, was the member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. If I am wrong, I wish to be set right; but this now seems to be the truth. I shall, therefore, give what account I am able of the Rev. John Conant of Lymington. —He was sometime Fellow of Exeter-College in Oxford. It is said, that he was nine years a Fellow of that College. When he became Rector or Pastor of Lymington, I cannot tell; but he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity on the

a Wood's Ath. Oxon. vols. i. & ii. under John Conant. Second edition.

28th of June, in the year 1620, and he was at that time Pastor of Lymington. In this situation, he seems to have met with much opposition and trouble, for want of strict conformity, and on account of some zealous and laudable exertions in his ministerial work. Something of his real spirit and temper, and also of his history, and of the troubles which he met with on account of his zeal and faithfulness in the honourable service of his Master, may be readily collected from the following papers.

No. I. *The Testimony of John Conant, Rector of Lymington, within the Diocese of Bath and Wells*, Jan. 1640.

Having continued in my own parish church a Lecture for the space of ten or eleven years, viz. from 1622, until 1633, first once every fortnight, and afterward weekly, without any considerable intermission, without any prohibition or the least discouragement from Bishop Lake and his successors, until Bishop Pierce his coming into this Diocese, and after his, the said Bishop Pierce, coming to Wells, I being told that he was an adversary to Lectures, that a storm was coming, and having heard that some more public Lectures were already suppressed, I thought it a meet and inoffensive way to repair unto the said Bishop and crave his leave and liking for the continuance of my Lecture, which I did, taking with me a grave and orthodox minister of mine ancient acquaintance, viz. Mr John Vivian, that he might, if need required, give testimony unto such passages as should intercede between the Bishop and myself. But the Bishop taking me into an inner room beckoned unto Mr Vivian, as he himself told me, signifying that he should stay behind, notwithstanding which I yet earnestly and humbly intreated the said Bishop Pierce to afford me his approbation and encouragement in my said Lecture, alledging to this purpose, that I was Bachelor in Divinity, and a preacher licensed by the University, also that the Lecture was within mine own parish, and upon a day appointed for Common Prayer by our Church, and that I was willing to employ the time and talent which God had vouchsafed

me for the benefit and instruction of my people, who much needed the same. Yet the said Bishop utterly denied me any such leave or approbation, telling me that such as come to my church on Wednesdays should hear the Litany and be gone, withal requiring me once and again not to proceed any once more in my said Lecture or Exposition, (which he called preaching) on Wednesdays, as I would answer the contrary. And when I humbly desired to know the reason why he should so strictly prohibit me beyond some others, who then continued their wonted weekly preaching in their own churches, and within the same Diocese without any such restraint; alledging no reason for his so doing, he answered, that it was in his power to inhibit or licence whom he would, though within their own cures, to preach any such weekly Lecture within his Diocese, and therewith promised me as a pretended favour, that if any else within his said Diocese did continue any such Lecture, I should enjoy the like liberty; but added, that his purpose was not to permit any. That this was the sum of my suit unto Bishop Pierce, and of his Lordship's answer returned unto me, or in words to this effect, I can and by these presents do truly testify, and shall be ready by oath, if called upon, to confirm the same. *John Conant.*

No. II. *Another Testimony of the said John Conant*, May 4th 1640. (Written after his Lecture was discontinued.)

Being demanded whence it came that I discontinued my Wednesday's Exposition,—my answer is this—(repeating the substance of his former interview with the Bishop, and adds) he told me that it was not in my power to make holy days: that by preaching on Wednesdays, I drew men from their callings, &c.—When a Mr Ford said to the Bishop, What if I should go on with my Lecture? The Bishop replied, that he would suspend him. Mr Ford said, What if Mr Conant appeal? He answered, that he knew the Archbishop's mind well enough already. The Bishop gave charge publicly, that in catechising children and servants, no other question

should be asked, nor any other answers given than such as in express words are mentioned in the Catechism contained in the Book of Common Prayer. For transgressing this unreasonable charge, the Bishop enjoined an ancient and laborious minister of his Diocese open penance in the public congregation. Mr Conant entreated the Bishop that he might enjoy his former liberty, for asking some other questions, and receiving some other answers, tending to unfold more plainly those which are expressed in the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer. But this liberty was denied.[a]

I have given an account of John Conant, D. D. because some eminent writers have represented him as a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, at least, as called to sit in that Assembly. I have also given what information I could respecting John Conant, B. D. Rector, or Pastor, of Lymington, in Somersetshire, because it appears to me that John Conant of Lymington was really the member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

It may be added, that Mr Conant was appointed one of the Select Committee for the examination and approbation of ministers who petitioned for sequestered livings. In the year 1644. he was also upon the Committee for the examination and ordination of ministers.[b]

I have not seen any of Mr Conant's writings, except the above-mentioned sermon from Jer. xxx. 7, in Wood's Account of him. This sermon is found in the volumes of sermons, which were preached to the Long Parliament. In it, the author discovers much faithfulness in his station, and true zeal for the Reformation. 4to. pp. 46, with an Epistle Dedicatory to the House of Commons, of 4 pages. London, 1643.

a Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. 2d edit. vol. i. p. 229, &c.

b Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. chap. ii. & iv.

EDWARD CORBET, D. D.

OF MERTON-COLLEGE, OXFORD,

A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER, AND PASTOR OF GREAT HASELY, IN OXFORDSHIRE.

EDWARD CORBET was born at Pontesbury, in Shropshire, in the year 1602. He was descended from the ancient family of Corbets in that County, and educated in Merton-College, Oxford, where he was chosen Fellow, having taken the degrees in Arts. He was made Proctor of the University, but, upon refusing conformity in certain points, he was called before the Vice-chancellor. It is said, that he was no enemy to the Church of England, but he could not with a good conscience observe all her superstitious ceremonies. And while the Vice-chancellor laid his case before Archbishop Laud, Chancellor of the University, he petitioned his Lordship for relief; but it was not likely that he could obtain the least redress. Upon the commencement of the civil war, Oxford being garrisoned by the King's forces, he was deprived of his Fellowship, and expelled from the College, because he refused to espouse the Royal cause. Archbishop Laud, being afterward prisoner in the Tower, refused him the Rectory of Chatham, in Kent, because he was a Puritan; and when he was appointed Rector of that place, by an ordinance of Parliament, May 17th, 1643, his Lordship still continued to refuse his allowance, but his refusal was unavailing. Mr Corbet was a witness against Archbishop Laud at his trial, and deposed "that, in the year 1638, his Grace visiting Merton-College, by his Deputy, Sir John Lamb, one article propounded to the Wardens and Fellows was, Whether they made due reverence, by bowing toward the altar, when they came into the Chapel—That he and Mr Cheynell were enjoined by the Visitors and Commissioners to use this ceremony; but they refused;

for which, though he assigned his reasons for refusing, he was particularly threatened.—That, after this, Dr Frewin, the Vice-chancellor, told him that he was sent to him by the Archbishop, requiring him to use this ceremony.—That the Archbishop afterward sent injunctions to Merton-College, requiring them to bow toward the altar, and the Visitors questioned those who refused.—And that in Magdalen-College there was a crucifix placed over the communion table, and pictures in the windows; and a new crucifix was set up in Christ's Church, none of which innovations were ever heard of before the time of the Archbishop."

Mr Corbet was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, became a member, and in Neal's list is marked as giving constant attendance. He is also said to have been one of the Committee for the examination and ordination of Ministers, and one of the Preachers before the Parliament. He was likewise appointed one of the Preachers with a view to reconcile the scholars in Oxford to the Parliament, in the year 1646; but, according to Wood, he soon quitted that employment, whereby that duty lay on the shoulders of only six persons. Walker says, "The Parliament made a farther advance toward the more immediate appearance of their authority in a *visitation*, by sending their harbingers to prepare the way for it. These were seven Divines whom they dispatched to Oxford to reduce the University to a better temper; and to dispose them to a reconciliation with the Parliament and their proceedings. The persons pitched on for this purpose, were Mr Robert Harris of Hanwell, in Oxfordshire; Mr Edward Reynolds, formerly of Merton-College; Mr Henry Wilkinson, Senior of Magdalen-Hall; Mr Francis Cheynell, Mr Edward Corbet, both of Merton-College; Mr Henry Cornish, formerly of New-Inn-Hall, and Mr Langley, formerly of Pembroke-College."[a] Mr Corbet was also appointed one of the Visitors of that University, and Orator and Canon of Christ's Church, in the room of

a Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part i. p. 125. See Cheynell's Life, pp. 230, 231.

Dr Henry Hammond. It has been observed, "that, though he was one of the Visitors, he seldom or never sat among them. And when he usually preached at Mary's Church, the year before the King was beheaded, he would, in his long prayer before sermon, desire *that God would open the King's eyes to lay to heart all the blood that he had spilt. And that he would prosper the Parliament and their blessed proceedings.*" However, he did not continue long in this situation; but, being made Rector of Great Hasely, in Oxfordshire, he removed to the charge of his flock, *over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, to feed the church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood.* He continued there until his death. He took his degree of Doctor of Divinity on April 12th, in the year 1648. He died in London, in January, in 1657, aged fifty-five years, or thereabout. His remains were conveyed to Great Hasely, and interred in the chancel of the church.

Dr Corbet is allowed to have been a good divine, a valuable preacher, and very remarkable for his integrity. His wife was daughter of Sir Nathaniel Brent, and granddaughter of Dr Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury. She is said to have been a lady of most exemplary piety. Her funeral sermon was preached by Dr Wilkinson, and afterward published, with some account of her excellent character. Some of Bishop Abbot's manuscripts fell into Dr Corbet's hands, particularly his Latin Commentary upon the whole Epistle to the Romans. This learned and laborious work, in four volumes folio, Dr Corbet deposited in the Bodleian library, Oxford, where, we are told, it still remains.[a]

Dr Corbet seems to have been the author of *The Worldling's Looking-glass; or, The Danger of Losing his Soul for Gain*, 1630. And he has published, *God's Providence;* A sermon preached from 1 Cor. i. 27, before the House of Commons, at their Solemn Fast, Dec.

a Wood's Ath. vols. i. and ii. Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. iii.

28th, 1642. 4to. London, 1647. Probably he has some other writings which I have not seen.

PHILIP DELME

WAS A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

HE is, in Mr Neal's list, marked as giving constant attendance. He is also said to have been a superadded divine. And he was one of those who subscribed that proposition, That "Jesus Christ, as King and Head of his Church, hath appointed a government in the Church, in the hands of Church-officers, distinct from the civil government." But I cannot give the reader any farther account of Mr Philip Delme.

CALIBUTE DOWNING, D. D.

WAS CHOSEN ONE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER; BUT, IN NEAL'S LIST, HE IS MARKED AS WITHDRAWING, OR SELDOM APPEARING, THOUGH HE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN SOMETIME IN THE ASSEMBLY, AND TO HAVE TAKEN THE PROTESTATION.

CALIBUTE DOWNING was born at Shenington, in Gloucestershire, in the year 1604. He was descended from an ancient and respectable family, and educated in Oriel-College, Oxford. After he had finished his studies at the University, and entered upon the Ministerial work, he became successively Rector of Ickford, in Buckinghamshire, of West Ilsley, in Berkshire, and Vicar of Hackney, near London.

In the year 1640, Dr Downing, in a sermon before the artillery company, maintained, "that for the defence of religion, and the reformation of the Church, it was lawful to take up arms against the King, if it could be obtained no other way." For this, he was forced to ab-

scond, and he retired to the house of the Earl of Warwick, in Essex, until the meeting of the Long Parliament. In the year 1643, he resigned his Vicarage, and was succeeded by Dr. Spurstowe, who was afterward one of the ejected Non-conformists. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he became Chaplain to Lord Roberts, in the army of the Earl of Essex. In that office, he has incurred the very heavy censure of the High-church historians.—He was appointed one of the licensers of the press. Wood says, That "in 1643, he shewed himself a grand Covenanter, and thereupon was made one of the Assembly of Divines." Dr Downing died, in the year 1644, aged forty years; and he has left behind him the character of a pious man, a warm preacher, and a very zealous promoter of the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and of the welfare of his country. Sir George Downing, of East Hatley, in Cambridgeshire, was a son of his.

Dr Downing's writings are;

1. *A Discourse of the State Ecclesiastical of this Kingdom, in relation to the Civil*, 1633.

2. *A Digression* discussing some ordinary Exceptions against Ecclesiastical officers, 1633.

3. A Discovery of the False grounds which the Bavarian Party have laid to settle their own Faction, and shake the peace of the Empire. 4to. London, 1641.

4. A Discourse upon the Interest of England, 1641.

5. A Discoursive Conjecture upon the Reasons which produce the present Troubles of Great Britain, different from those of Lower Germany. 4to. London, 1641. And several Sermons.[a]

a Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. ii.

THE REV. JOHN DURY,

A SCOTCHMAN, AND LEARNED DIVINE, WHO WAS EMINENTLY DISTINGUISHED BY HIS INDEFATIGABLE INDUSTRY TO PROMOTE UNION AMONG CHRISTIANS, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

JOHN DURY was born in Scotland; but in what part of it, or at what time, I cannot inform the reader. Wood says that he was a Scotchman, and became a sojourner in the University of Oxford, in the month of July, in the year 1624, for the sake of the public library, but how long he continued there, he could not tell. Afterward, he travelled into various foreign countries, particularly through most parts of Germany, where he visited the recesses of the Muses. Having continued a considerable time in those parts, he spoke the German language so well and fluently, that, upon his return to England, he was taken for a native of Germany. Wood adds, that he was by profession a Divine and a Preacher, but whether he took orders according to the Church of England, which he always scrupled, doth not appear. He is said, however, to have overcome these scruples, by some means. For, though he had been ordained in one of the foreign Reformed Churches, he was required to be re-ordained before he could be admitted to a benefice in England. He, accordingly, submitted to the renewal of his ordination under the hands of Bishop Hall of Exeter.[a]

Mr Dury was for several years employed in a design of promoting a reconciliation between the Calvinists and Lutherans abroad; or as he himself usually expressed it, "for making and settling a Protestant union and peace in the Churches beyond the seas." He was eminently distinguished by his extraordinary zeal and activity in endeavouring to promote this desirable union. Strongly possessed with hopes of success, he applied for a dispensation of non-residence upon his Living, in order that he might

a Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 390. as with Brook.

travel through the Christian world, with a view to accomplish this object. And he not only procured a license for that purpose, but seems also to have at first obtained the approbation and recommendation of Archbishop Laud, though he appears afterwards to have thrown some difficulties in Mr Dury's way. Mr Dury, however, was assisted, in this great undertaking, by Bishop Hall, and Bishop Bedell of Kilmore in Ireland. Bishop Bedell loved to bring men into the communion of the Church of England, in a voluntary way, and was of opinion, that Protestants would agree well enough if they could be brought to understand each other. He was therefore induced to promote Mr Dury's design, and, toward defraying the expenses of which, he subscribed twenty pounds a-year. Mr Dury began by publishing his plan of an union, in the year 1634; and, the same year, he appeared at a famous Assembly of Lutherans at Frankfort in Germany. The Churches also of Transylvania sent him their advice and counsel the same year; and he afterward transacted with the Divines of Sweden and Denmark. He quickly turned his attention to every quarter. He consulted the Universities, communicated their answers, and he was not discouraged by the ill success which he met with. He had conference with the learned Divines on this subject, in most places on the Continent, and obtained their approbation of his design. It is said, that he afterward endeavoured to unite, not only the Lutherans and Calvinists, but even the whole Christian world.

Both Mr Dury and his enterprise have been very warmly censured, by some writers; but it is evident, that he was honest in his intention, and his undertaking has received the warmest patronage and encouragement of many very celebrated divines. In the year 1635, he exchanged several letters upon the interesting subject, with the eminently learned Mr Joseph Mede, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, in England. He first solicited this celebrated scholar to give his thoughts upon the best method of pursuing the design; and then stated the method in which he had addressed the Batavian churches, earn-

estly desiring his remarks respecting it. Mr Mede most cordially approved of his endeavouring to promote a pacification among the Reformed Churches, but he very much doubted his success. He commended Mr Dury's method of addressing the foreign Churches; readily owned his good intentions; and spoke of his rare abilities in terms of the highest approbation. In his answer to Mr Hartlib, excusing his passing judgment on Mr Dury's Address, he says, "Mr Hartlib, I received yours on Saturday, with the copy inclosed, and Mr Dury's courteous letter; to which yet I doubt I shall make no answer; but use the liberty he there vouchsafes me; *that each of us either speak freely or be silent, as seems most proper.* For he desires me to give my judgment of his manner of address and treaties with those of the Batavian churches: what may be expected from them, and what course were best to be taken in case they grant or deny. But what were this, but for Phormio to teach Hannibal stratagems of war?—And for my part, *in the present state of things*, I cannot conceive any way better than what Mr Dury there relates he took; whose wisdom and ability therein, I am fitter to receive knowledge and information by, than to censure or give direction unto." In another letter to Mr Hartlib, Mr Mede says,—"It grieves me not a little, yea, perplexes me, to hear that Mr Dury is come off with no better success." [a]—Mr Dury communicated his design to the most celebrated Divines in New England, who expressed their most hearty concurrence in his generous undertaking. And the famous Mr Baxter observes, that "Mr Dury having spent thirty years in his endeavours to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists, was again going abroad upon that work, and desired the judgment of our association how it might be most successfully accomplished; upon which, at their desire, I drew up a letter more largely in Latin, and more briefly in English." [b]

Upon the commencement of the civil wars in England,

a Mede's Works, Letters.

b Sylvester's Life of Baxter, Part i. p. 117.

Mr Dury espoused the cause of the Parliament, was one of the preachers before them, and was also chosen one of the superadded members to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He is marked in Neal's list, as giving constant attendance. He took the Covenant with the rest of his brethren, and was appointed one of the Committee of accommodation. He was undoubtedly a man of a very amiable character, and was much respected and beloved by many persons who were eminently distinguished for both learning and piety; among whom, it would certainly be a very great omission not to mention the justly celebrated Sir Robert Boyle, who was eminently his kind friend. In the great and deeply interesting design of promoting concord among Christians, Mr Dury plainly discovered a most excellent spirit, and was indefatigably laborious. His laudable endeavours were, without doubt, highly useful, though they were not crowned with such eminent success, as the best Christians sincerely desired. He seemingly acted, in the whole undertaking, upon the most generous and honourable principles. This will very clearly appear from his letter, under the date of July, 1660, which was addressed to the Lord Chancellor Hide, and which was as follows:

My Lord,

In the application which I made to your honour when you were at the Hague, I offered the fruit of my thirty years labours towards healing the breaches of Protestants; and this I did as one who never had served the turn of any party, or have been biassed by particular interests for any advantage to myself; but walking in the light by rules and principles, have stood free from all in matters of strife, to be able to serve through love. My way hath been, and is, to solicit the means of peace and truth among the dissenting parties, to do good offices, and to quiet their discontents, and I must still continue in this way if I should be useful. But not being rightly understood in my aims and principles, I have been constrained to give this brief account thereof, as well to rectify the misconstructions of former actings, as to prevent farther

mistakes concerning my way: that such as love not to foment prejudices may be clear in their thoughts concerning me; and may know where to find me, if they would discern me or any of my talents which God hath bestowed upon me for the public welfare of his churches, which is my whole aim; and wherein I hope to persevere unto the end, as the Lord shall enable me, to be without offence unto all, with a sincere purpose to approve myself to his Majesty in all faithfulness.

Your Lordship's most humble servant in Christ,

John Dury.

During the same month he sent another letter, giving an account of certain proceedings respecting the universal pacification among Christians. It was addressed to the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household. In Dec. 1660, Mr Dury was presented, by favour of the Earl of Manchester, with so much of the Lithuanian Bible as was then printed, which was down to the Chronicles. Mr Dury has been called *the Lithuanian scholar*. He lived till after the King's restoration in 1660; but he does not appear to have conformed, nor yet to have been ejected. Most probably, he discontinued his ordinary ministerial exercises sometime before that period, making every thing give way to his peculiar favourite object.

Wood says, that he has written and published about twenty books and pamphlets; among which are;

1. *Consultatio Theologica super negotio pacis Ecclesiast.* 4to. London, 1641.

2. *A Summary Discourse concerning the work of Peace Ecclesiastical, &c.* 4to. 1641. Cambridge.

3. *Petition to the House of Commons for Preservation of true Religion, &c.* 4to. London, 1642.

4. *Certain considerations shewing the necessity of Correspondence in spiritual matters between all professed Churches, &c.* 4to. London, 1642.

5. *Epistolary Discourse to Tho. Goodwin, Phil. Nye, and Sam. Hartlib.* 4to. London, 1642-1644. This,

being written against Toleration, was answered by H. Robinson.

6. *Israel's Call to March out of Babylon unto Jerusalem;* A Sermon from Isai. lii. 11. before the House of Commons, Fast, Nov. 26, 1645. 4to. pp. 49. London, 1646.

7. *Of Presbytery and Independency.* 4to. 1646.

8. *Model of Church Government.* 1647.

9. *Peace-maker the Gospel way.* 1648.

10. *Seasonable Discourse for Reformation.* London, 1649.

11. *An Epistolical Discourse* to Mr Thorowgood, *concerning his Conjecture that the Americans are descended from the Israelites.* 4to. pp. 16. London, 1650. To this piece he added the History of a Portugal Jew, Antonie Monterinos, attested by Manasseh Ben Israel, to the same effect.

12. *Considerations concerning the Engagement.* 1650.

13. *The Reformed School.* 1650.

14. *Supplement to the Reformed School.* London, 1651.

15. *The Reformed Library-keeper.* London, 1650.

16. *Bibliotheca Augusta Sereniss Princ.* D. Augusti Ducis Brunovicensis, &c. 1650.

17. *The unchanged, constant, and single-hearted Peace-maker drawn forth into the world:* or, *A Vindication of John Dury from the aspersions cast upon him in a nameless Pamphlet, called, The Time-serving Proteus, and ambidexter Divine, uncased to the World.* 4to. London, 1650.

18. *Conscience eased*, or *the main scruple which hath hitherto stuck most with conscionable Men against taking the Engagement, removed.* 4to. London, 1651.

19. *Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion.* 4to. London, 1654.

20. *A Summary Platform of Divinity.* 1654.

21. *A Declaration of John Dury*, to make known the Truth of his Way and Deportment in all these Times of Trouble. 1660.

22. *Irenicorum Tractatuum Prodromus*, 1662.

Beside these, I have in my possession three letters in

Latin, which were written by Mr Dury to Mr Mede. And Mr Dury translated from French, *A Copy of a Petition as it was tendered by him to* Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, when he was at Elbing in Prussia, in 1628. 4to. London, 1641.[a]

It appears that there were some eminent divines of this name, who were natives of Scotland, about that time. Dr Calamy mentions a Mr David Dury, who was ejected from Henly, in the county of York, in England, by the act of uniformity. He says, "After his being silenced, he went into Scotland, which was his native country. There he was eminent for his piety, and particularly for his gift in prayer. He fared better there than many of his brethren in the reign of King Charles II, though he was continually changing his place. He lived till after the Revolution, in 1688, and died in Edinburgh about the time of the first General Assembly, in the reign of King William."[b]

THOMAS FORD, M. A.

A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER, AND MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT EXETER.

THOMAS FORD was born at Brixton, in Devonshire, in England, in the year 1598. The family from which he descended was respectable; and his parents left his eldest brother above two hundred pounds yearly. His father died when he was young, and his education devolved upon his mother. In his childhood, he had a strong inclination to learning, and to serious impressions. He was trained up in school education under Mr Durant, a pious schoolmaster at Plympton. His master reckoned that he was fit for the University when fifteen years of age; but for some reasons he was not sent to it, till the year

a Wood's Athen. vol. i. 2 edit. Brook's Lives of the Purit. vol. iii.
b Calamy's Cont. vol. ii. p. 949.

1619, or 1620, when he was entered as student in Magdalen-Hall, in Oxford. He applied diligently to his studies at the University, and made great improvement in the knowledge of the learned languages, and in the different branches of literature, which are more immediately connected with theological science. He proceeded Bachelor of Arts, in the year 1624; and Master of Arts, in the year 1627. Wood says, that he entered into Orders, and became a very faithful tutor in his House for several years. Dr Calamy says, "Here he was as celebrated a tutor as any in the University." He was warmly attached to the principles of the Puritans. And the lively interest which he felt in these principles, led him to use some expressions publicly in the University, which, with similar expressions used by other persons, made a considerable noise at that time. The case was this: Dr Frewen, President of Magdalen-College, had changed the communion table in the chapel into an altar, which was the first set up in the University since the Reformation. Several preachers at St Mary's exclaimed against this innovation: particularly Mr Thorn of Baliol-College, in a sermon from 1 Kings xiii. 2. respecting the altar at Bethel: and Mr Hodges of Exeter-College, from Numb. xiv. 4. *Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.* Mr Ford preached also in his course from 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11. *And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them who perish; &c.* His sermon was preached on the 12th of June, in the year 1631. He made some smart observations respecting the innovations which were then creeping into the church, the magnifying tradition, making the eucharist, or Lord's supper, a sacrifice, altars instead of tables, bowings to the altar, and the like.

Laud and his party were greatly exasperated at these sermons, made bitter complaints against them, and pretended that they were reflections on some eminent churchmen, and a violation of the King's declaration for silencing the Arminian controversies. Next Saturday, the Vice-chancellor convented Mr Ford before him, and demanded a copy of his sermon. Mr Ford offered to give him one, if

he demanded it according to the statutes. The Vice-chancellor ordered him to surrender himself prisoner at the castle. Mr Ford offered to go, if he would send a beadle or servant with him. That not being complied with, he did not surrender himself. Next Saturday the Vice-chancellor, highly enraged, seals up Mr Ford's study, and afterward searches his books and papers, but found nothing which could be urged against him, he having with precaution removed whatever his enemies could take hold of. In the mean time, Archbishop Laud, who was then their Chancellor, received information respecting this affair. He returned orders to punish the preachers. Upon this, a citation in Laud's name was fixed on St Mary's, July 2, commanding Mr Ford's appearance before the Vice-chancellor, on the 5th. Mr Ford appearing on the day appointed, he was urged to an oath *ex-officio*, to answer any questions respecting his sermons; but he refused, because there were no questions in writing. He offered again a copy of his sermon, if demanded according to the statute; and next day he delivered a copy, which was accepted. But on pretence of former contumacy, the Vice-chancellor commanded him again to surrender himself prisoner. Mr Ford appealed from the Vice-chancellor to the convocation, and delivered his appeal in writing to the two Proctors, who were men of eminent integrity and ability, according to Dr Fuller, Messrs Atherton Bruch, and John Doughty.[a] They carried the appeal to the convocation, who referred the cause to sixteen delegates; the greater part of whom, viz. ten in fifteen, upon a full hearing acquitted Mr Ford from all breach of peace. From them the Vice-chancellor appealed to the convocation, who appointed delegates also; but the time limited by statute expired before they came to sentence. Upon this, Laud brought the whole matter before the King and Council at Woodstock. Mr Ford appearing there, the King examined him upon three questions. 1. *Why he refused a copy of his sermon?* He answered that he had not denied it, but offered it ac-

a Fuller's Church-Hist. Book xi. p. 141.

cording to the statutes. 2. *Whether Dr Prideaux dissuaded him from giving it?* He assured the King, that he had never consulted the Doctor respecting it. 3. *Why he did not go to prison, when the Vice-chancellor commanded him thither upon his Faith?* He gave the same answer to the King as before to the Vice-chancellor; adding, *That he hoped his Majesty's poor scholars in the University should not be in a worse condition than the worst of felons, who were imprisoned by a Mittimus, and with legal officers to conduct them to it.* The King spake no more to Mr Ford. And Laud, though present, did not interpose one word. But the following sentence was passed: That Messrs Ford, Thorn, and Hodges, be expelled the University; that both the Proctors be deprived of their places for receiving their appeals, though they could not legally refuse them; and that Dr Prideaux, Rector of Exeter-College, and Dr Wilkinson, Principal of Magdalen-Hall, receive a sharp admonition for meddling in this affair in their behalf.

Messrs Thorn and Hodges, upon a recantation and a year's suspension, were fully restored, and afterwards promoted to be Archdeacons. But Mr Ford, by the final sentence, was obliged to remove from the University within four days, and was conducted out of the town with much honour, by a great multitude of scholars in their habits. He was soon invited by the magistrates of Plymouth to be their Minister: but Laud obtained a letter to them from the King, signed with his own hand, and accompanied with another from himself, forbidding them to admit him, upon pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure; and in case that he was chosen, the bishop of Exeter was commanded not to admit him. The inhabitants of Plymouth were obliged to give up the object of their choice. Mr Ford now finding that the bishop was determined to exclude him from all preferment in England, embraced an opportunity of going beyond sea, as Chaplain to an English regiment under the command of Colonel George Fleetwood, in the service of Gustavus Adolphus. He travelled with the Colonel into Germany, and lay sometime in garrison at Stode and Elbing. His emi-

nent abilities and erudition recommended him to learned men of all professions in his travels. While abroad, he was invited by the English merchants at Hamburgh, to be their minister, with the promise of a salary of two hundred pounds yearly.

Mr Ford was well qualified for improvement and useful observation when he travelled into Germany; but not finding satisfaction in a foreign country, he returned home. At his return, he met with no opposition in a presentation to the Rectory of Aldwinckle or Orendle, in Northamptonshire. There he laboured in his ministerial work with great diligence some years, and married the daughter of —— Fleetwood of Graye's-Inn, Esq. by whom he had several children. He was chosen Proctor for the clergy of the diocess of Peterborough to the famous convocation 1640, who framed the &c. oath. When the civil war broke out between the King and Parliament, he retired to London, and was made minister of St. Faith's, London, and a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. When the wars were over, he settled at Exeter, the capital city of Devonshire, in England. At this time, he found the city and country around over-run with many errors; and the inhabitants greatly under the influence of those persons of an enthusiastical turn, who pretended to be above ordinances. He was now eminently distinguished by his preaching with great zeal and fervour, and with surprising success, against the mad errors of this visionary tribe. His extensive labours in this place were highly acceptable and useful. The whole city was greatly reformed, and a good relish of the best things generally appeared.—He preached in the Cathedral, though for sometime he was once put out of it, in the year 1649, by Major General Desborough, who quartered there, for refusing the Engagement. He was much esteemed not only by the body of the people, but also by the magistrates and neighbouring gentlemen. And he generously maintained a very friendly corresponedence with the other ministers of the city. He induced them to set up a Tuesday's Lecture, in which they all took their turns, and were well attended. This lecture was undertaken with

holy zeal, and performed with remarkable success. Mr Ford also prevailed with his brethren to have communions once a-fortnight in each church alternately, at which the members of any of the other congregations might communicate. These measures had a strong tendency to prevent all jealousies among the ministers, and to unite the people firmly among themselves.

The ministers of Exeter enjoyed the best harmony and the most endearing friendship about thirteen years, in the diligent and comfortable discharge of the duties of the pastoral office, until the dismal Bartholomew-day, in the memorable year 1662. Then the respectable subject of this Memoir was cast out with his brethren, but still resided among his people. Upon the coming out of the Oxford-Act, he and twelve other Ministers who resided in that city, not being satisfied with all the particulars of the oath which was prescribed, and knowing that their refussal would be misconstrued, thought that it was prudent to present a petition to the magistrates of Exeter, "Begging leave to declare, that they could swear, That they were so free from all thoughts of raising a new war, or resisting the Powers which by Divine Providence were over them, that they were fully resolved never to take up arms against the King's person, crown, dignity or authority, or to aid, abet, countenance, or encourage any other in any tumultuous or unpeaceable endeavours toward the disturbance of his Majesty's kingdoms; but to behave themselves peaceably in all things and at all times, under His Majesty's government in church and state. Adding, that this they humbly offered, not as expecting to escape the penalties of the Act by it, but that they might not be represented as disloyal or disaffected to His Majesty's person and government." But the magistrates, being such as had no favour for men of their principles, rejected the petition, and the petitioners were obliged to leave the city for sometime.

Mr Ford now retired to Exmouth, about nine miles from Exeter. He lived privately there in those evil days, depending upon the care and faithfulness of his heavenly Father. And under the direction and kindness of Divine

Providence, he obtained a competent support. They who are enabled to trust in the Lord's promise, shall never be forsaken by him. *There is no want to them who fear him. The young lions do lack and suffer hunger: but they who seek the Lord shall not want any good thing.* When the indulgence came out, though he did not esteem the persons who obtained it, nor approve their design in it, yet it was his judgment, that they should embrace the opportunity of preaching the Gospel. Though his health was now greatly impaired, he returned to Exeter, but he was not able to preach more than two sermons in public. But he was highly useful to many persons by private advice and conversation, and his fervent prayers for them. While many persons were flattering themselves with the approach of flourishing times, he plainly told them, that there was a more dreadful storm behind which would unavoidably fall upon the churches. This prediction was completely verified, in the most terrible persecutions, during some following years, in different parts of the earth. Mr Ford declined daily in his bodily health after his last sermon, and was soon confined to his bed, and could speak little to those persons who visited him. But when two Ministers of that city came to see him, he spake much to them respecting his own unworthiness, and the all-sufficiency of Christ. He said, *That he would repose himself upon that Rock in the storms of approaching death.* When his ancient colleague, Mr Burtlet, recited those divinely inspired words, *The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law;* he stopped him short, and added, *But thanks be to God for Jesus Christ, through whom we have the victory.* These were his last words. Dr Calamy says, He died in his 76th year, in Dec. 1674. Mr Wood says, He died in the latter end of Dec. 1676. They both agree, that his mortal remains were buried in St Lawrence Church in Exeter.

Mr Wood says, " A certain Doctor of Divinity of his time and persuasion, who knew him well, hath several times told me, that this our author was *a man of very*

good parts and of unbiassed principles, one and the same in all times and changes."[a]

Mr Ford published two sermons, one before the Lords, and the other before the Commons.—*Singing of Psalms The Duty of Christians under the New Testament.* Or, A Vindication of that Gospel-Ordinance, in five sermons from Eph. v. 19. Wherein are asserted and cleared; 1. That, 2. What, 3. How, 4. Why, we must sing. London, 1653-1657.—*The Sinner condemned of himself; being a Plea for God against all the ungodly, proving them alone guilty of their own destruction.* London, 1668. And *Scripture's self-evidence, proving it to be the only Rule of Faith; against the Papists,* 1677.

JOHN FOXCROFT, A. M.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT GOTHAM, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

JOHN FOXCROFT received his education in Magdalen-Hall, Oxford. He took his degree of Master of Arts on the 29th of October, in the year 1617. And, having finished his studies at the University, he entered upon the ministerial work. He was afterward minister of Gotham, in Nottinghamshire; where, according to Wood, he continued several years a Puritanical preacher. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he joined the Parliament, and was much molested by the royal party, when he was employed in the work of his pastoral office at Gotham. In the year 1643, he was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and he constantly attended. Removing to London, he became a frequent preacher in that city; and he preached sometimes to the Parliament.[b]

a Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. Col. 577. And Calamy's Account, vol. ii. 2 edit. pp. 207—214.

b Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. iii.

Mr Foxcroft still retained a strong affection for Nottinghamshire, where he had been a diligent labourer in the Lord's vineyard, as appears by his epistle dedicatory to the House of Commons, before his sermon from Isa. xxxii. 1, 2. in which he says, "Give me leave only to shed a few tears upon the neck of the bleeding County of Nottingham, my dear *Ithaca*, now as beloved as that which gave me breath; having been the place of my ministry the longer half of my life."

I have seen one sermon of Mr Foxcroft's, which is entitled, "The Good of a Good Government, and Well-grounded Peace," from Isa. xxxii. 1, 2. preached before the House of Commons, in Margaret's Church at Westminster, Dec. 31, 1645, the day of their monthly Fast. 4to. pp. 24. London, 1645-46.

HANNIBAL GAMMON, A. M.

MINISTER OF MAUGAN IN CORNWALL, WAS CHOSEN ONE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER;

But he is marked in Neal's list as not appearing there at all; and his name is not enrolled among those Divines who were members of that Assembly. Many persons who were called to attend that Assembly never appeared in it. My plan is, to give some account of those Divines only who were members, and constantly attended the Assembly, including the Scribes and Commissioners from Scotland. But as Mr Gammon is classed among the Puritans, and was chosen one of that Assembly, I shall here give a short account of him.

HANNIBAL GAMMON was born in the city of London, in the year 1585. He was a Gentleman's son, and educated in Broadgates-Hall, Oxford. He took the degrees in Arts, and in due time became minister of Maugan in Cornwall, where he was soon esteemed a very po-

pular preacher. Wood says, that he was much followed by the Puritanical party for his edifying and practical preaching On the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the Parliament, and in 1643, he was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines.

Mr Gammon was the author of "An Assize sermon," 1621.—"A sermon at Lady Robert's Funeral," 1627. —"Praise of a Godly Woman; a Wedding sermon," 1627.—"God's Smiting to Amendment; an Assize sermon," 1629.[a]

THOMAS GATAKER, B. D.

A VERY LEARNED ENGLISH DIVINE, CRITIC, AND COMMENTATOR, WHO FLOURISHED IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, PASTOR OF ROTHERHITHE, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

THOMAS GATAKER was born in the Parsonage-house of St Edmund the King, in Lombard-street in London, on the 4th of Sept. in the year 1574. He was descended from a very ancient family, in Shropshire, in England, and from those of his name of Gatacre-Hall, where that name is said to have been found from the time of Edward the Confessor. His father was also Thomas Gataker, or Gatacre, as the name has been often written; sometime a student in Oxford, and afterward Pastor in St Edmund's church in Lombard-street in London. He was eminently distinguished by his self-denial, and forsaking all to follow Christ.

The subject of this Memoir received the first principles of his education, in his father's house. He gave very early indications of an uncommon genius, a most retentive memory, and surprising application. He entirely devoted himself to literature in very early life. He had pe-

a Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. Brook's Lives, vol. iii.

culiar delight in his book; and a very quick apprehension. His manners were amiable, and his conversation grave. He exhibited learning above his age, and manners above his learning. Enjoying the advantages of a good education, and very seasonable early instructions, his youthful and vigorous mind soon imbibed those principles, which afterward ripened to a very happy maturity. His progress in learning, in the grammar-school, was very rapid, and he exceeded many of his fellow-scholars. Having passed through the classes in the grammar-school by the time that he was sixteen years of age, he was sent by his father in the year 1590 to St John's College in Cambridge. As he very early began to seek and taste the peculiar sweetness of all useful learning, and had an uncommon thirst for knowledge, he now pursued his academical studies with unremitting attention, and indefatigable industry. He was also eminently distinguished here by his examplary and agreeable manners. He was one of those diligent students who constantly attended the Greek lectures of the famous and eminently learned Mr John Bois, which he read in his bed. This learned Grecian and divine, who was one of the translators of the Bible, in 1604, read a Greek lecture in his bed to such scholars as preferred their nightly studies to their rest. Under his instructions, Mr Gataker acquired an accurate acquaintance with the Greek language. And he carefully preserved the notes of those lectures as a precious treasure; and when he was visited by Mr Bois, several years afterward, he produced them to him, to the great joy of the good old man, who professed that he was some years younger by that very grateful entertainment. Mr Gataker continued to pursue his studies with the closest application, and made very great proficiency in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, with the good assistance which he derived from the very celebrated Mr Edward Lively, who was the Professor of Hebrew in Cambridge, and eminently skilful in that language.

Not long after he was settled at the College, his father was called to *go the way of all the earth.* He sustained a considerable loss by his father's death, in several respects.

His father was not in circumstances to leave him a sufficient provision of maintenance during the course of his academical education. The early hopes, however, which he had afforded, under divine Providence, of future proficiency, and of being highly useful to the Church of Christ, induced some friends to contribute to his assistance. Being thus encouraged, he prosecuted his studies with uncommon diligence and success. *The hand of the diligent makes rich.* He, accordingly, soon acquired, by his great diligence, under the divine blessing, a very great stock of intellectual riches. His high attainments in learning, and his amiable deportment, so recommended him, that he was chosen a scholar on the foundation of his College. At the statutable periods, he took his degrees in Arts with uncommon applause. His good disposition and sentiments were greatly cherished by associating with eminently learned and pious Christians and Divines; and particularly with that eminent servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, Mr Richard Stock. Mr Stock and Mr Gataker were united by the closest ties of mutual affection and friendship, which continued until Mr Stock's death, as appears by Mr Gataker's testimony given unto him at his funeral.

Mr Gataker was now held in so very high esteem for his learning and piety, that the trustees of Sidney-College, of which the foundation was laid in 1596, appointed him one of the Fellows of that Institution, even before the building was erected. He is enrolled among the learned writers of this College by Dr Fuller, in his History of the University of Cambridge. The uncommon circumstance which has been mentioned occasioned an offer to be made to him, to reside, until the College should be completed, at the house of William Ayloffe, Esq. afterward a Baronet, of Barksted, in the County of Essex, as tutor to that gentleman's eldest son, and as assistant to himself in the study of the Hebrew language. While he continued in this family, he was accustomed every morning to read a portion of the Holy Scriptures, giving the sense from the original languages with great perspicuity, and afterward deducing pertinent and practical observa-

tions. He went over, in this manner, the apostolic epistles, the prophecy of Isaiah, and a good part of the book of Job. This learned and pious exercise was highly beneficial both to himself and to the whole household. It was highly beneficial to himself for promoting those biblical or theological studies, which are of the greatest utility and importance to ministers of the gospel, for enabling them to understand and to explain the Sacred Writings. It was also highly beneficial to the family, for enabling them to understand the *Holy Scriptures which were able to make them wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.* At one of these exercises on the first chapter of Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, Dr Sterne, Suffragan bishop of Colchester, who was nearly related to the Mistress of the family, was present, under Divine Providence. The Doctor was so very highly pleased with Mr Gataker's performance, that he most earnestly pressed him to enter into orders, or to be ordained to the work of the ministry, that his gifts might be authoritatively exercised for the public good, and generously offered him his assistance. For some time, Mr Gataker's modesty and diffidence led him to decline undertaking the ministerial character. His views of the holy ministry were of a very serious and exalted nature. He considered the office of an ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ, as of the highest importance, and was disposed to say, *Who is sufficient for these things?* But being repeatedly solicited by Dr Sterne and other friends, not to with-hold from the Public the benefit of his services, and considering that his *sufficiency was of God*, he at length acceded to their wishes, and was ordained by the Suffragan above mentioned.

When in the year 1599 Sidney College was finished, and prepared for the reception of its society, Mr Gataker repaired to his proper station, and commenced the office of tutor with great reputation and success. He warmly recommened to his young students piety and learning. While he was engaged in this very useful employment, he also united with Mr Abdias Ashton, and with Mr William Bedell, afterward bishop of Kilmore, in Ireland, in the

truly pious and laudable plan of preaching the glorious gospel of the grace of God in places lying near to Cambridge, where, from different circumstances, the people were in great want of able ministers. In conformity to this plan, Mr Gataker constantly preached for six months every Lord's-day at Everton, a village on the borders of the Counties of Cambridge, Bedford, and Huntingdon. The Vicar of this place was rendered incapable of performing the duties of his office by the infirmities of an advanced age.—The universal establishment of the spiritual kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, our glorious Redeemer, is the work of ages. And the ambassadors of Christ, of every age, and in every country, should use their utmost endeavours for promoting the interests of his kingdom. "The prophecies stand recorded in the sacred volum, as pledges to assure us of the final event; and they then produce in our minds their intended influence, when they excite our most active endeavours to bring that event to pass. The Almighty can, doubtless, effect his purposes, without the intervention of human assistance; but, since he has been pleased to take us in, as fellow-workers with him in the execution of his gracious plan, it is our indispensable duty to perform with diligence those various parts of it, which he has committed to our charge.—In this supreme work, then, of Christian charity, which is no less honourable to ourselves, than beneficial to those, on whom it is employed, let us not grow *weary or faint in our minds.* The cause of religion is the cause of God, which he will never suffer finally to sink or fail. He ruleth over all the kingdoms of the earth; and has the hearts of their inhabitants, all, in his hands. And, as he opens the hearts of some to make liberal contributions for promoting his gospel; so will he open the hearts of others to receive the truths of that gospel, which we are thus enabled to impart." [a]

Some reasons, which are not explained, having determined Mr Gataker to remove from the University, and to settle in London, he was prevailed upon by his friend

a The Edinburgh Christian Instructor, vol. iv. No. iii. p. 165.

Mr Ashton to reside with Sir William Cooke, near Charing-cross, in the capacity of his Chaplain. In this distinguished situation, he was readily introduced to many persons of eminence and learning, particularly in the profession of the law: and as several of the latter, who were members of Lincoln's-Inn, had frequent opportunities of knowing and admiring his peculiar ministerial gifts, and excellent talents for the pulpit, when he preached for different ministers of his acquaintance, they earnestly wished that he would take the necessary and legitimate steps to be chosen Preacher to their Society. But his native modesty and diffidence of his own abilities would not allow him to become a candidate for that honourable office. He resisted even the importunity of his good friend Mr Stock. However, upon his being chosen to that office about the year 1601, without any solicitation on his part, he was prevailed upon to accept it; and he fulfilled the duties of the office for ten years, in such a manner as reflected the highest credit on himself, and greatly contributed to advance the interests of religion, in that honourable Society. He was much admired and caressed by his very respectable and learned auditory. He prosecuted his studies with judicious and successful application. And he carefully adapted his labours to the sphere in which he moved, and to the circumstances under which he was placed, by Divine Providence. Among other objects which engaged his attention, he was particularly active in promoting the reformation of some abuses of the Lord's-day, and was successful. He studied zealously to promote the religious observance of that day, among all ranks of the community.

Dr Montague, Master of Sidney-College, designed to invite Mr Gataker to return to the College, that he might read a Hebrew Lecture; which had a salary annexed to it by Lord Harrington; but the Doctor had laid that design aside, upon hearing that Mr Gataker was chosen to be Preacher to the honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn, and warmly urged his acceptance of the call of this respectable body. By accepting the office of Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, Mr Gataker did not dissolve his connexion

with Sir William Cooke's family, notwithstanding that in term time he thought that it was his duty to reside in Lincoln's-Inn; but in the vacations he went down to Sir William's seat in Northamptonshire, and during his stay there he preached constantly, either in the domestic chapel, or in the parish church. *He went about doing good*, with an apostolic mind. He preached the gospel, not for filthy lucre, but freely. Next to the glory of God, he seems to have had the good of his fellow-creatures in view, as the great object which regulated his life. He engaged with much diligence and earnestness in whatever could promote in any degree their temporal and eternal welfare. This laborious and generous preacher of the gospel, aimed more at the good of others, than at his own temporary advantage.—In the year 1603, he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge, and was afterward often solicited to proceed to take his degree of Doctor in Divinity; but he declined it, for economical reasons. The great reputation which he acquired by his learned discourses at Lincoln's-Inn, occasioned several offers of valuable preferments to be made to him, which, it was supposed, he might have held without relinquishing his situation of Preacher to that Society. But he entertained very proper and conscientious scruples against pluralities; and no arguments could persuade, nor examples induce, him to believe that one man, at the same time, could discharge his duty, in a proper manner, having two cures of souls. He wished also to continue in that situation, though his income was much smaller than that of Livings to which he might have been inducted, because of the advantage which it afforded him of time for pursuing his learned studies. He devoted much of his time to his studies, and especially to his improvement in an acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures in their original languages, with the Fathers of the first ages in the Christian Church, and with the best Greek and Roman writers. A celebrated Divine says, "The best natural powers will need to be well cultivated by a liberal education. Without an ability to read the Scripture in the languages in which it was originally written, and some aquaintance

with natural and moral philosophy, history, antiquity, the best Greek and Roman authors, and the arts of logic, rhetoric, and criticism, in an age of so much learning as the present, a minister can scarcely fail to be despised; and a despised ministry is seldom successful. Besides, on many occasions, the teacher will need all his learning to unfold to him the meaning of difficult passages in sacred writ; especially if, as sometimes happens, his commentaries fail him, where he most wants their help. Nor will one, wholly ignorant of philosophy, history, and criticism, be able to give satisfying answers to the reasonings of infidels founded upon those, to detect their sophistry, beat them out of their strong holds, and so, if he convince not their conscience, at least to stop their mouths. There are some Scriptures, from which, if they stood in the original as they do in our translations, almost unanswerable objections might be drawn against our holy faith. And what advantages must this give the infidel to triumph over the illiterate teacher! And, indeed, if the hedge of a learned ministry were once removed from these lands, as I am afraid some wish it to be; what could we expect, but that ignorance and infidelity, error and heresy, superstition and enthusiasm, should quickly overspread them! Those who, by the blessing of God on their studies, have acquired considerable measures of learning, have been the best explainers and defenders of Christianity, and recommended practical religion in the most distinct and persuasive manner. And, without a miracle, which we have no ground to expect, illiterate ministers can never equal them." [a]

In the year 1611, Mr Gataker, having entered into the matrimonial state, accepted the Rectory of Rotherhithe in the County of Surrey, near London-bridge. He was much importuned to retain his former office, of Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, with his Rectory of Rotherhithe; but in consistency with his principles, which have al-

a Dr Erskine's Discourses, Dis. 1. from James iii. 1. The Qualifications necessary for Teachers of Christianity, where the reader may find many excellent things on the subject.

ready been mentioned, he now resigned his former office, to the great regret of the learned body who had profited much under his ministry. Respecting the grounds and motives of this settlement, Mr Gataker has given a large account to the public, in his defence of himself against Lilly. Devoting his whole attention to the particular flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him the overseer, he now applied himself in discharging the duties of the pastoral office with great diligence and fidelity, notwithstanding that for a long time he was afflicted with an almost perpetual head-ach, to which, very probably, his late and early studies did not a little contribute. To the work of his public ministry upon the Sabbath-day, he added a catechetical weekly lecture on Friday, in the evening, which was chiefly designed for the instruction and benefit of children and young persons. This benevolent and useful Institution was for some time well attended; and had a strong tendency to fix on the young mind lasting impressions of the all-important truths of religion. The religious education of youth is certainly a most interesting and important object. Society at large is deeply concerned in it. "There is no man, however obscure his condition, however low his attainments, or however limited his means of usefulness, whose character is a matter of indifference to the public. The more generally, then, religious knowledge is disseminated, the greater is the good done to the community, the surer is the foundation on which its happiness and prosperity depend. How widely may those blessings be diffused, which arise from the religious education of a few children!"[a] At Mr Gataker's lecture, a certain number, every evening, were called to give an account of their knowledge, by answering questions which were before delivered out to them for their instruction. He considered the religious instruction of young persons highly beneficial to the public; and under the blessing of the Almighty, which makes rich, his labours were crowned with success, in their instruction. In this profitable ex-

a Edinburgh Christian Instructor, vol. iv. No. iii. p. 206.

ercise, he explained the whole body of divinity, in a most accurate and methodical manner; and Christians who had made considerable progress in religious knowledge carefully attended his discourses. And let pastors, and parents, and instructors of the rising generation of every class, seriously remember and feel,

> "That they are bound to cast the minds of youth,
> Betimes, into the mould of heavenly truth,
> That taught of God, they may indeed be wise,
> *Nor ignorantly wandering miss the skies.*" [a]

Mr Gataker performed this work with much zeal and accuracy, until he had completed an excellent summary of divinity. He continued his highly useful and disinterested labours as long as those persons attended who were chiefly designed in the Institution. And he was honoured to be the instrument of dispensing the inestimable blessings of religious and saving knowledge to a number of that rising generation.

In the year 1616, and in some following years, Mr Gataker maintained a literary correspondence with Dr Usher who was afterward Archbishop of Armagh, on the subject of some curious manuscripts which he had in his possession of some ancient divines, and among others of the famous Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln. I have seen and read three letters from Mr Gataker to Dr James Usher, afterward Archbishop of Armagh, under the dates of 1616, 1617, and 1621, which are preserved in a collection of letters subjoined to the Life of Archbishop Usher, by Dr Richard Parr, his Lordship's domestic chaplain, at the time of his death, London, 1636, 1686. These letters afford sufficient evidence of Mr Gataker's profound erudition, and critical skill, and also of his great modesty and humility, and of the very high esteem in which he was held by that learned Prelate.

While Mr Gataker had been Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, among other curious subjects more particularly adapted to his learned auditory, he had devoted several discours-

[a] Cowper.

es to the consideration of the nature, use, and abuse, of lots, or lotteries. These discourses were intended by our learned preacher to shew the lawfulness of lusorious, or entertaining games of chance, and the unlawfulness of the divinatory lots. What he had delivered on this subject is said to have been much misrepresented; and he was accused of having pleaded the cause of gamblers, and of having given encouragement to the abuse and misemployment of precious time. Finding that these charges were propagated not only in conversation but also by the press, he was obliged to overcome his reluctance to sending any of his learned labours into the world, and by way of self-defence he published the substance of his discourses on this subject, under the title "Of the Nature and Use of Lots; A Treatise Historical and Theological," in the year 1619. This very elaborate work is allowed to be eminently distinguished by great accuracy of method, acutness of reasoning, profound learning, perspicuity and elegance of style, considering the time in which it was written. It was readily received with much applause by a great part of the learned world; but at the same time it excited the strictures of several persons, with whom the learned author afterward engaged in controversy. He protests, in the most solemn manner, in his epistle to the reader, which is prefixed to this book, that he undertook the task for no sinister end; and that he neither had averred nor defended any thing, but what he was verily persuaded to be agreeable to the word of God. That if any man could better inform him in any thing therein, he should very readily hearken unto him.—That the clearing of Truth has been in this work his main aim. And he further says, "That whosoever shall take no more liberty than by me is here given, shall be sure to keep within the bounds of piety, of sobriety, of equity, and of charity."

In the year 1620, Mr Gataker set out on a tour through the Spanish and United Netherlands, in company with two eminent friends, and with a nephew of his, who was then a student. He had a laudable curiosity to see some of the churches in those parts of the earth; and he wished also

to form an acquaintance with men who were eminently distinguished for their learning and piety. With these objects before him, he entered upon his travels, and gained considerable information in a short time, worthy the attention of the scholar and the divine. When he was at Middleburgh, in Zealand, in the United Netherlands, he preached in the English church there, to the very great satisfaction of his Protestant countrymen. His friends in that town were both very glad to see him, and very desirous to hear him preach, and he yielded to their importunity. He very eminently distinguished himself by the spirit and ability with which he disputed against the English Catholic priests who resided in those parts, together with the fugitives of their persuasion who had been obliged to remove from England, for being concerned in the base plots against the government in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successor. While he was in Holland, he had formed a very high opinion of the peculiar zeal of the Dutch for the Protestant religion. And he was fully convinced, that the English could never differ from the Dutch, even upon points of national policy, without very great injury to the Protestant interest. This opinion was very warmly maintained for some time by those men who opposed the measures of the English court; but when they had succeeded in overturning the royal authority, they proceeded upon a very different system, as the reader may very readily learn from the history of those times.

Upon Mr Gataker's return to his native country, from which he was absent only about a month, he soon found that his Treaties on Lots had been attacked by a Mr John Balmford, whose work, on account of the angry spirit in which it was written, and the illiberal insinuations which it is said to have contained, was, by the licenser of the press, refused permission to be published. Very much to Mr Gataker's honour, he immediately most generously interested himself to obtain the removal of the prohibition against the work of his adversary; and after that it had been permitted to appear, he employed himself in preparing a learned and very elaborate answer to it. This answer was published in the year 1623, under the title of

"A Just Defence of Certain Passages in a former Treatise concerning the Nature and Use of Lots, Against such Exceptions and Oppositions as have been made thereunto by Mr J. B. Wherein the Insufficiency of his Answers given to the Arguments brought in Defence of a Lusorious Lot is Manifested; the Imbecility of his Arguments produced against the same further Discovered; and the Point itself in Controversy more fully Cleared." This Defence consists of three parts, An Answer to Mr Balmford's Preface and Postscript; A Reply upon Mr Balmford's Answer to Mr Gataker's Arguments; and a Rejoinder to Mr B's Reply in Defence of his own Arguments. Mr Balmford's entire context is inserted; and Mr Gataker's own arguments and answers are transcribed from his former book, that neither of them may be wronged, nor the reader obliged to turn from book to book, to search for what is either confirmed or confuted, or otherwise handled, having all represented together unto his view. Several years after this, he found himself under the necessity of publishing a Latin defence of his opinions respecting the nature and use of lots against two very learned men who had written upon the same subject; the celebrated Amesius and Voetius. The reader will find the title of this Latin defence in the list of Mr Gataker's writings. In the year 1624, our author's peculiar zeal for the Protestant religion led him to publish a learned work, which was very highly valued at the time when it first appeared, and still deserves a respectable rank among the controversial treatises against the Roman Catholics. It was entitled, "A Discussion of the Popish Doctrine of Transubstantiation: Wherein the same is declared, by the confession of their own writers, to have no necessary ground in God's word: As also it is further demonstrated to be against Scripture, Nature, Sense, Reason, Religion, the judgment of the Ancients, and the Faith of our Ancestors." Afterward he also published "A Just Defence of the same Discourse, and Arguments against the Answer of a nameless Popish Priest thereunto." This indefatigable and respectable writer, very much to his honour, as a zealous friend to the Reforma-

tion, heartily engaged in the discussion and confutation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, at this time. This most absurd doctrine, that a person who had received holy orders in the Romish church could convert, by a word, the bread and wine, the signs and memorials of the death of Christ, into his real body and blood, equally mocks our senses and our reason. It should be utterly condemned, without any hesitation, by every friend to Christianity. Mr Gataker most steadily directed the efforts of his enlightened and vigorous mind against this most absurd doctrine, and the other corrupt doctrines of the Roman church. He first examined these doctrines, with the utmost care and candour, bringing them all, with peculiar zeal and diligence, to the test of a severe examination by the word of God; and having clearly discerned their inconsistency with the word of God, he confuted and rejected them. Having great abilities and a liberal education, he examined with the most scrupulous care, the foundation of all those received opinions, which prevailed at that time, and had any connexion with the salvation, or with the interest and happiness of mankind. And it was a maxim with him, that Truth, so far from being injured by discussion, which some persons greatly fear, will uniformly derive much advantage from it; and that the sharper the scrutiny is, the more glorious will be her triumph.—"In tracing the general or local progress of the Reformation, let not the evils which it struggled to remove be cast out of sight; let us contemplate the system of Popery, not modified by the expanded reason of mankind, but as it exerted its energy in the ages of intellectual darkness. Thus shall we justly appreciate the labours of those who sapped its strength; thus shall we ascribe to the proper cause, that amazing improvement in the social and moral condition of man, which has succeeded its weakness or its destruction."[a]

In the year 1624, Mr Gataker also published "A Short Catechism." About this time, and in the following years, he published several other learned and very

a Cook's Hist. Reformation in Scotland, vol. i. p. 83.

elaborate pieces, which are mentioned in the account of his writings. On the 19th of April, in the year 1640, he began in the course of his ministry to unfold that remarkable portion of the Holy Scriptures, *We conclude, therefore, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law*, Rom. iii. 28. In due time, he, by divine assistance, accomplished what he had intended in his explanation of the entire doctrine of justification. He handled and illustrated this highly useful and important doctrine, with his usual accuracy of method, solidity of reasoning, profound learning, and clearness of expression, to the great satisfaction of his judicious hearers. He preserved by him, the rude draughts of his meditations respecting this deeply interesting doctrine, and they were extant after his death. He was frequently urged to publish those meditations; but his great modesty and averseness to appear in public hindered him some time from printing, what he had preached with much cheerfulness and freedom. At last, however, not so much by the importunity of friends, as through the love of the truth, as it is in Jesus, he was prevailed upon to engage in preparing the work for the press, as an antidote to the prevailing errors respecting justification. He recollected his loose papers, revised his notes, new-modelled his treatise, and was diligently employed in making it ready for a public appearance in the world, and for the benefit of the Church and of posterity, when he was summoned by the inexorable messenger of eternity, and diverted from communicating his conceptions to the Church on the earth, to resign his spirit to God who gave it, before he had fully finished this work, which, though unfinished was published after the author's death by his son.[a] Mr Gataker had very carefully collected much information, and a great number and variety of writers respecting justification. He read most extensively, and seems to have had access to many sources of information, by which his views were greatly enlarged and matured. And by his intense application, and the

[a] Preface unto this Antidote to Error concerning Justification, by the Author's son.

vivacity of his genius, he made great progress in the pursuits to which he directed his attention. He applied with peculiar zeal and diligence to the study of all subjects which he handled, and discussed them in a very able manner.

In the year 1642, he was attacked by a violent colic, which brought him to the very gates of death; but the Lord, who is rich in mercy, to relieve all who call upon him, raised him from the gates of death, for his further service. The people of God meet with their afflictions in this world, like the waters of Marah, in their way to the heavenly Canaan; and they are sometimes, by those afflictions, brought very low. But He, whose high prerogative it is literally to *raise from the gates of death*, can always find the means of recovering and of preserving his servants, when he has more work for them.

When the famous Assembly of Divines was appointed to sit at Westminster, in the year 1643, Mr Gataker, before his strength was well recovered, was nominated one of that respectable body, and constantly attended in his place, from a pure desire of promoting truth and peace, and of rendering what service he could to the religious interests of his country at that very critical time. And he undoubtedly was a very great ornament and credit to that brilliant constellation. When the discussion took place in the Assembly on the important subject of justification, and he found that the majority were determined to adopt a definition of it different from the sense in which he understood that doctrine, his great love of unity led him to impose silence upon himself, as far as respected the public, and to with-hold from the press some discourses from Rom. iii. 28, which he had composed in defence of his sentiments. In the dispute respecting ruling elders, he was entirely against the institution of any such officer by divine right. Mr Baillie from Scotland, who was present, speaking of this dispute, says, "Sundry of the ablest were flat against the institution of any such officer by divine right, as Dr Smith, Dr Temple, Mr Gataker, Mr Vines, Mr Price, Mr Hall, and many more." [a]

a Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 401.

It is said, that upon the introduction of the *covenant* into the Assembly, Mr Gataker declared his judgment to be in favour of what was called moderate Episcopacy, denying the distinction of that order from that of Presbyters, divesting the Prelates of their baronies and seats in the House of Lords, and abolishing the rest of the hierarchy. And, that though he and other members who united with him in opinion, could not carry their point, yet they obtained a considerable qualification before they were brought to subscribe.[a] Some men, at that time, were exceedingly zealous for the whole hierarchy, and for all the exorbitant power of the bishops. When Mr Gataker came to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, he drew upon himself the dislike at least, if not the hatred of such men. Others were for destroying or extirpating Episcopacy root and branch, reckoning that it was a great impediment to the Reformation and to the life and power of godliness. Some were only for a reformation of the hierarchy, or for what was called moderate Episcopacy, as Mr Gataker seems to have been.—During his attendance upon the work of that famous Assembly, the Earl of Manchester, who was well acquainted with his eminent abilities, profound learning, and peculiar accomplishments for academical services, offered him the Mastership of Trinity-College in Cambridge, which was the greatest preferment in that University; but he declined to accept of that preferment, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of his friends, partly on account of his bodily weakness through age, and his ill state of health, and partly because of his ardent desire of devoting what time he could spare from his pastoral duties to such pursuits as might be beneficial to the learned world. He was deeply interested in enlightening mankind; and having vast intellectual abilities, which were brightened and diligently cultivated by much study, his learned labours were crowned with surprising success. This important object he kept constantly in view even when under the visitation of a very distressing disease. He was again attack-

a Gen. Biogr. vol. iv. See Middleton's Biogr. Evang. vol. iii. under Gat.

ed by an alarming illness; but it pleased the Lord, though he sorely chastised him, not to give him over to death. When confined to his chamber by illness, he composed two works, in which his eminent learning and critical talents were very advantageously displayed. The first was a profound and ingenious treatise respecting the name by which God made himself known to Moses and to the people of Israel, the most glorious name of God, JEHOVAH. In this elaborate piece, the author strenuously defends the common way of pronouncing the word Jehovah in England. The second work was respecting diphthongs, wherein he endeavours to prove that in reality there are no diphthongs, and that two vowels cannot be united in such a manner as to form one syllable.

Mr Gataker also engaged with other eminent divines in writing the learned Annotations upon the Bible, which were published under the name of the "English Annotations," and not the "Assembly's Annotations," as they have been frequently called. I have long used a copy, which is entitled on the back "English Annotations." And Messrs Baillie and Gillespie, who were Commissioners from the Church of Scotland to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, call these the English Annotations.[a] And Dr Cornelius Burgess, who was an eminent man in that Assembly, and had the best opportunity of correct information respecting these Annotations, gives the following account of them: "It is indeed true, that some members of that Assembly, joining with some others, did compile some Annotations upon the Bible, which many take to be the work of the Assembly. But take this for an undoubted truth, those Annotations were never made by the Assembly, nor by any order from it; nor after they were made ever had the approbation of the Assembly; or were so much as offered to the Assembly at all, for that purpose or any other."[b] The same Parliament which called that Assembly, employed the authors of

a Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 22, and 167. Gillespie's Aaron's Rod, pp. 20—68—97.

b Dr Burgess's No Sacrilege nor Sin to purchase Bishops' Lands, chap. iv. 2d edit. pp. 87, 88.

those Annotations. And some Divines who were members of that Assembly were concerned in writing these Annotations. Such mistakes are not here pointed out with any envious intention, but solely from a love of truth. Mr Gataker was, in particular, the author of those Annotations upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which have been generally very much esteemed; and they are, without doubt, justly entitled to very high esteem. In these, his extraordinary reading, talents, learning, diligence, and piety, are clearly seen. And it has been said, that Mr Gataker's part of these learned Annotations is exceeded by no Commentator, ancient or modern, on those books.[a] The other parts of these Annotations, according to my best information, were done by the following authors: The Pentateuch, or five books of Moses, by Mr Ley, Sub-dean of Chester: The two books of Kings, of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, by Dr William Gouge of Black-Friars, London: The Psalms, by Mr Meric Casaubon: The Proverbs, by Mr Francis Taylor: Dr Reynolds wrote upon Ecclesiastes; and Mr Smallwood, on Solomon's Song.—Ezekiel, Daniel, and the lesser prophets, were done, in the first edition, by Mr Pemberton, and in the second edition, by Bishop Richardson. The Notes on the four Evangelists are Mr Ley's; and those on Paul's Epistles are Dr Featly's. Messrs Downham and Reading were also concerned in this great work, and might perhaps do the other parts which are not here mentioned.[b]

Our illustrious author also wrote some very able treatises against the Antinomians.—When his health was in some degree re-established, he returned to the duties of his profession, and laboured in these, until by the bursting of one of the vessels of his lungs, which was followed by frequent alarming discharges of blood, he was obliged to decline the service of the pulpit; though he still continued to administer the sacraments, and to deliver short discourses at funerals suitable to the occasions. These ex-

a Johnson's Lives.

b Dr Calamy's Account, vol. i. chap. vi. Neal's Hist.

ercises, though short, were painful to him; but he always delighted in doing good to his fellow-creatures. The chief part of his time was now spent in study. And he enjoyed favourable opportunities of study and retirement, in which he greatly delighted, and improved with much activity and diligence. In the year 1648, he presented to the world an excellent work on the style of the New Testament, which very justly gained him the character of being one of the ablest philologists of his age. This eminently learned work was but the forerunner to a larger one of the same nature, which is highly useful in illustrating the sense of difficult passages in both the Old and New Testaments; the primitive Fathers, modern critics, and also in profane authors both Greek and Latin. At first, only two books of the six into which it is divided, were published, in the year 1651. The remaining books of this collection were published after the author's death by his son Charles, under the title of Adversaria Miscellanea-Posthuma, &c. in 1659. In the year 1651, Mr Gataker also published a learned Latin discourse on infant baptism. Three years after he published another treatise on the same subject. In 1652, he favoured the public with his excellent edition of the Emperor Antoninus' Meditations, with a very valuable preliminary discourse respecting the philosophy of the Stoics, an exact translation and commentary.

When Mr Gataker was obliged to desist from preaching, he was deeply interested in the welfare of his flock, and did not desert it; but retained his title until they had an opportunity of being provided with a faithful and orthodox minister, to whom he might comfortably devolve both the charge and the benefit. At the same time, he was equally attentive to his duty in instructing his family in private. On Friday night, weekly, he was accustomed, after supper, to expound that short Catechism which he had published for the use of his parishioners. In this course, he most beautifully unfolded the nature and attributes of God; the state of man, both as he was created and fallen; the means of his fall and recovery; the nature of faith and repentance, and the doctrine of the sacra-

ments. His parlour was an excellent school for profitable instruction. And, for some time, he maintained a private seminary in his house for the instruction of several young English gentlemen; and many foreigners also went and lodged with him, in order that they might enjoy the benefit of his advice in their studies. Under his tutorage and direction, those students were equally built up in piety and learning. And several persons who were afterward great ornaments to the churches, both at home and abroad, were brought up, at least, under his eye, as Paul was at the feet of Gamaliel.—His polite literature was much admired by eminently learned men both at home and abroad; and he maintained a literary correspondence with Salmasius, Hornbeck, and other learned foreigners.

When some desperate officers of the army, and their dependants, assuming and maintaining the military sword in a most arbitrary manner, had determined to bring the King to a trial, and were proceeding to take their measures for that purpose, Mr Gataker was one of those ministers of the gospel, within the Province of London, who subscribed a very bold and judicious remonstrance to the General and army against that design; and he made no scruple to condemn it, both in public and in private, as he also did the putting of the King to death. He, in like manner, condemned and testified against the subsequent changes which were introduced into the constitution of both the civil and ecclesiastical government. The sentiments which he readily avowed respecting these subjects rendered him an object of suspicion to the rulers of that period. Some of his ungrateful parishioners speedily took advantage of this circumstance, and refused to pay him any longer their share of the composition for the tythes of their houses, which upon a law-suit amicably conducted, had been decreed him in the court of Exchequer. He bore this unkind treatment with great patience, and clearly shewed that he *had not received the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God.* Kindness reigned in his heart, and appeared in his life. In the evening of his days, when he earnestly desired that repose to which he was very justly entitled, by his unwearied labours, he was most warmly

attacked by an active and angry adversary, Mr William Lilly, the famous astrologer. But Mr Gataker, who possessed all the sacred and profane literature respecting astrology, not only defended himself with great strength of argument, but also very clearly detected all the plausible sophisms which could be urged in support of that pretended science. The ground of this controversy was Mr Gataker's Annotations on Jer. x. 2, in which he had, with solid sense and sound learning, completely destroyed the credit of that delusive art, by which, in all ages and countries, weak and unstable minds have been much misled. These Annotations roused the whole tribe of astrologers against him, from the highest to the lowest. They were greatly offended, and wrote against him without mercy. Mr Gataker was thus induced to publish in vindication both of his Annotations and of himself; which he did in a very satisfactory manner. Respecting himself, he speaks of the most considerable transactions of his life, relates at large how he came to his several preferments, and completely refutes all the idle and malicious reflections of Lilly and his associates. Declares that he never was an advocate for the power and splendour of the Prelacy; but on the contrary, had always inclined to a moderate Episcopacy.

Mr Gataker undoubtedly was one of the most able, learned, and pious, divines and writers of his age. He had an extraordinary strength of memory. He retained what he had read, without the help of a common-place book. And his reading was very extensive, as clearly appears by his manifold quotations, in all his writings. By his unwearied application to reading and to study, he had acquired a vast stock both of divine and of human learning. In his course of reading and study, he had made a very judicious selection, which, like the rich treasures of the hive, unites in one precious mass, all the sweets of numerous flowers. He was very charitable; but he gave his alms generally in secret, unless he found it necessary to give them openly, for exciting other persons to their duty. In his last will, he left to the poor of the parish of Rotherhithe fifty pounds. To ten of his brethren in the ministry, who

were oppressed by the iniquity of the times, fifty pounds; that is, to each five pounds. And to eight ministers' widows, five pounds each. He pursued a peaceable and useful course, until his constitution was worn out with years, infirmities, and continual labours. He brought forth fruit in great abundance, even in old age. *They shall still bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be fat and flourishing; to shew that the Lord is upright.* His mental abilities were not abated; but his understanding and memory continued strong, even unto his end.

He was seized with a fever which terminated in his death. He gave order that his dear friend Mr Ashe should be certified of his weakness, that he might be remembered before the Lord in his prayers, and that he might prepare for preaching his funeral sermon. Mr Ashe, upon receiving such intelligence, went to see his dying friend, and found him very weak, and not able to speak much, but what he said was both weighty and savoury, and has been faithfully related by Mr Ashe. His words were; *I am now conflicting with my last adversary, though I believe the sting is taken out. Nature will struggle, but I humbly submit unto the good pleasure of God. I heartily beg the pardon of my many sins, especially of my want of sedulity and fidelity in my public and private charge, hoping to be washed with Christ's blood, and desiring to be translated out of this restless condition. I expect daily, yea hourly to be translated into that everlasting rest, which God hath prepared for them who are interested in his Christ. And I pray God to bless you, and his whole ministery every where.* These were his last words to Mr Ashe.[a] During all the time of his last sickness, his faith, patience, and resignation unto the will of the Lord, were very conspicuous. His mind was deeply impressed with a sense of his sin, and the necessity of the Saviour, whose name is called *Jesus*, because he saves his people from their sins. To an ancient servant who waited upon him, and who said to him that his head did not lie right, he said, *It will lie right in my coffin.* The day before his departure, be-

a Mr Ashe's Fun. Ser. pp. 38, 39.

ing exercised with extreme pain, he cried, *How long, Lord, how long? Come speedily!* In the afternoon of that day, feeling a great change in himself, he called his son, his sister, and his daughter, to each of whom he delivered his dying charge, saying, *My heart fails, and my strength fails; but God is my fortress, and the strong rock of my salvation. Into thy hands, therefore, I commend my soul; for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth.* Then he turned his discourse to them respectively, in the following manner—*Son, you have a great charge, look to it. Instruct your wife and family in the fear of God, and discharge your ministry conscientiously.* —*Sister, I thought you might have gone before me, but God calls me first. I hope we shall meet in heaven. I pray God bless you.*—*Daughter, mind the world less, and God more; for all things, without religion and the fear of God, are nothing worth:* Or,—*all things without piety and the true fear of God are worth nothing*, as one copy has it. He also gave his advice, that his son Draper, being a man of worldly substance, should entertain some godly minister in his house to teach his children and instruct his family. He warmly exhorted them all to concord, and after some enlargement in the parts of his discourse, or dying charge, he earnestly wished them all to lay to heart the words of a dying man. He then desired them all to withdraw and leave him to his rest, which he hoped was at hand. He expired on the 27th of July 1654, aged seventy-nine years, having been forty-three years pastor at Rotherhithe. His funeral sermon was preached from Prov. xvi. 31, by his much esteemed friend, Mr Simeon Ashe, and afterward published under the following title: "Gray Hayres crowned with Grace; A sermon preached at Redrith, near London, Aug. 1. 1654, at the funeral of that reverend, eminently learned and faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr Thomas Gataker." *He came to his grave in a full age, as a shoke of corn cometh in in his season*, being nearly fourscore years old.

This venerable divine would never suffer his picture to be taken; but the following is said to be a just description of his person. He was of a middle stature, of a thin bo-

dy, of a lively countenance, and of a fresh complexion. He was temperate in diet, free and cheerful in conversation, and much addicted to study, but he did not seclude himself from useful company. He enjoyed a quick apprehension, and solid judgment, and a very extraordinary memory. He was a loving husband, a discreet parent, a faithful friend. and a kind benefactor. He was an ornament to the University, a light to the church, salt to society, a stout champion for the truth, and an eminent lover of peace. The frame of his soul may be collected from a pious epigram which is supposed to have been his. It follows;

"I thirst for thirstiness; I weep for tears;
Well pleased I am to be displeased thus:
The only thing I fear is want of fears;
Suspecting I am not suspicious.
I cannot chuse but live, because I die;
And, when I am not dead, how glad am I!
Yet, when I am thus glad for sense of pain,
And careful am. lest I should careless be;
Then do I greive for being glad again,
And fear lest carelessness take care from me.,
Amid these restless thoughts this rest I find,
For those who rest not here, there's rest behind."

Echard says, "He was remarkable for his skill in Greek and Hebrew, and the most celebrated among the Assembly of Divines; and adds, It is hard to say which was most remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferments" Among foreigners, Morehoff gives him a very high character. It is said, "Of all the critics of this age, who have employed their pens in illustrating polite learning, there are few, if indeed any, who deserve to be preferred to Thomas Gataker for diligence and accuracy, in explaining those authors whose writings he has examined." He is styled "a writer of infinite learning and accurate judgment." And his name as a scholar is paralleled with those of Selden and Usher.

Mr Gataker's writings are numerous.

1. *Of the Nature and Use of Lots.* Small 4to. pp. 360. 1st edit. London, 1619. 2d edit. reviewed, corrected, and enlarged, 1627.

2. *A Just Defence of the same against Mr J. B.* 4to. pp. 275. London, 1623.

3. Thomae Gatakeri Londinatis Antithesis, Partim Gulielmi Amesii, Partim Gisberti Voetii, De Sorte Thesibus reposita. 4to. pp. 61. London, 1638.

4. A Discourse of Transubstantiation, with a Defence thereof. 4to. pp. 233. London, 1624.

5. David's Instructor.

6. The Christian Man's Care.

7. *The Spiritual Watch;* or *Christ's General Watch-Word.* A Meditation on Mark xiii. 37. 4to. pp. 130. The 2d edit. amended and enlarged, London, 1622. An excellent piece of practical divinity.

8. The Gain of Godliness, with its self-sufficiency. A Meditation on 1 Tim. vi. 6.

9. The Just Man's Joy, with signs of Sincerity.

10. Jacob's Thankfulness.

11. David's Rememberancer.

12. Noah's Obedience.

13. Memorial of England's Deliverance from the Spanish Invasion, in 1588.

14. Sorrow for Zion.

15. God's Parley with Princes, with an appeal from them to Him.

16. Eleazer's Prayer; A Marriage Sermon.

17. A Good wife God's Gift.

18. A Wife Indeed.

19. Marriage Duties.

20. Death's Advantage.

21. The Benefit of a Good Name, and a Good End.

22. Abraham's Decease, delivered at the Funeral of Mr Richard Stock, late Pastor of All-hallows, Bread-street.

23. Jeroboam's Son's Decease.

24. Christian Constancy Crowned by Christ.

The above sermons, of which the pious Bishop Wilkins, gives a very high character, were published separately,

in 4to. but, in 1637, they were collected and published in one volume folio.

25. The Decease of Lazarus.

26. St Stephen's last Will and Testament, 4to. and also folio. London, 1638.

27. Fran. Gomari Disputationis Elencticae, de Justificationis materia & forma, 1640.

28. Animadversiones in J. Piscut. &c.

29. Mr Anthony Wotton's Defence, 1641.

30. A true Relation of Passages between Mr Wotton and Mr Walker, 1642.

31. An Answer to Mr Walker's Vindication, 1642.

32. Stricturae in Barth. Wigelini Sang. de obedientia Christi, &c. 1653.

33. A Defence of Mr Bradshaw against Mr J. Canne.

34. *God's Eye on his Israel*, 4to. pp. 99; to which is prefixed a large epistle to the Religious, Judicious, and Ingenuous, Reader. London, 1645. This valuable work contains an explication and application of Balaam's words which are recorded Numb. xxiii. 21, clearing them from Antinomian abuse.

35. De Nomine Tetragrammato Dissertatio. A small book in Latin, Londini, 1645. The learned work was reprinted in 1652; it is also inserted among our author's Critical Works, which were printed at Utrecht, in 1698. And it has deservedly found a place among the ten Discourses upon this subject, which were collected and published by Hadrian Reland. The first five of these discourses were written by John Drusius, Sextinus Amama, Lewis Capel, John Buxtorff, and James Alting, who opposed the received usage of that glorious name of God, JEHOVAH, which is strenuously defended in the other five dissertations, the first of which was written by Nicolas Fuller, the second by Gataker, and the three others by the celebrated John Leusden. Mr Gataker, in his judicious and laborious discourse on the glorious name by which God made himself known to Moses and the people of Israel, has shewed that he was a very great master of Hebrew: and this curious and instructive treatise has been well received by competent judges, and found its way

under Divine Providence, into some very respectable libraries.

36. The English Annotations upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, folio, 1st edit. London, 1645. the 2d edit. 1651, so enlarged as to make an entire Commentary on the Sacred Scriptures. The 3d edit. London, 1657. These Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testaments were published in the 1st edit. in one vol. folio, and in the 2d and 3d edit. in 2 vols. The celebrated Mr Boston of Etterick informs us, in his Memoirs, Period 9th, 1711, that he had the English Annotations, 1st edit. in his library.

37. De Diphthongis sive Bivocalibus Dissertatio Philologica, 1646. In this learned and critical work, he endeavours to establish the point, that there are in reality no diphthongs, and that it is impossible two vowels should be so blended together as to enter into one syllable. This was certainly one of Mr Gataker's singularities. We pretend not to enter into this controversy, nor to decide whether our learned author was right or wrong in his views of orthography. This may seem to some persons beneath the attention of so great a man; but it appears that he was firmly resolved to vindicate such inquiries, and to shew that a thorough knowledge of grammatical learning greatly contributed to the improvement of true science. He had uncommon skill in Greek literature, his work was well received, and highly commended, by some able and candid judges, and it was also printed among his Critical Works.

38. A Mistake or Misconstruction removed, (whereby little difference is pretended to have been acknowledged between the Antinomians and us,) and Free Grace, as it is held forth in God's Word, as well by the Prophets in the Old Testament, as by the Apostles and Christ himself in the New, shewed to be other than is by the Antinomian party in these times maintained. In way of Answer to some Passages in a Treatise of Mr John Saltmarsh, concerning that Subject, 4to. 1646. This is written in answer to Mr Saltmarsh's Free Grace, or the Flowings of Christ's blood freely to sinners; being an Experiment

of Jesus Christ upon one who hath been in *bondage* of a troubled spirit at times for twelve years. Mr Gataker, in his work observes, "That it seems a thing much to be feared, that this course which I see some effect, and many people are much taken with, of extracting divinity in a kind of chymical way, even chimerical conceits, will, if it hold on, as much corrupt the simplicity of the Gospel, and the doctrine of faith, as ever the quirks and quillets of the old School-men did."

39. Shadows without Substance; or, Pretended New Lights, in Answer to Saltmarsh's Shadows flying away. 4to. pp. 124. London, 1646. Published by authority.

40. Mysterious Clouds and Mists, in Answer to Mr John Simpson. 4to. pp. 13; small and closely printed. London, 1648.

This celebrated scholar and divine employed both his learning and his zeal in the Antinomian controversy. He soon after published his learned work on the style of the new Testament, in which he opposed the sentiments of Pfochenius, who maintained that there were no Hebraisms in those sacred writings, which he endeavoured to prove both by authorities and arguments. These sentiments Mr Gataker undertook to overthrow, which, in the opinion of able critics, he has most completely accomplished. Beside, he has most clearly and concisely explained the true sense of many texts both in the Old and New Testaments; corrected numerous passages in ancient authors; and discovered such consummate skill in the languages, such accurate judgment, and uncommon penetration, as very justly gained him the character of one of the best critics of the age. This work is entitled, "Thomae Gatakeri Londinatis de Novi Testamenti stylo Dissertatio." 4to. 1648. He informs us, in the first chapter, that, meeting with the treatise of Pfochenius, a German divine, published in 1639, he read it with much attention, and found it both weighty in matter, and replete with good learning. But he found many of the author's sentiments contrary to his own, and in his judgment not agreeable to truth. He saw also, that many eminent men were censured without cause, and sometimes

represented as speaking very differently from what he considered to be their real sentiments. These observations induced him to examine many questions started in that treatise, or what naturally flowed from them. He begins by refuting a principle which Pfochenius has assumed, viz. that the Greek, Latin, German, &c. are original tongues. Mr Gataker thinks, it is very difficult to know what are original tongues, but respecting the Latin, he maintains that it is not. Thus he saps the very foundation of Pfochenius' system, by shewing, that there can be no assurance of the purity of any language, in the sense in which he understands it.—In the forty-fourth chapter, Mr Gataker gives a recapitulation of the whole dispute, and observes, that the true state of the question is, whether the style of the New Testament in Greek is every where the same with that which was used by the ancient writers, at the time when the language was in its greatest purity? Or, whether it is not such as frequently admits of Hebraisms and Syriasms? Pfochenius affirms the former, and denies the latter; but Gataker maintains the opposite sentiments. He concludes by observing, that, notwithstanding all that Pfochenius has urged, he does not doubt that nearly *six hundred* phrases might be produced from the New Testament, and a far greater number from the Greek version of the Old Testament, the purity of which Pfochenius seems tacitly to maintain, in which there are plain characters of the Hebrew or the Syriac tongues, and not the least resemblance of the real ancient Greek, so far as the most laborious and learned men have hitherto discovered. Archbishop Usher, the venerable Primate of Ireland, a competent judge, shewed his great respect both to our learned author, and to this performance of his, by sending a copy of it with his own Annals, as a present to the learned Dr Arnold Boate, who was then residing at Paris.[a]—Though this literary production was a very considerable work, and much increased the author's reputation, it was only a specimen of a larger work, in which he had been many years em-

[a] Parr's Life of Usher, p. 559, folio, 1686.

ployed; but of this an account has already been given; and also of his Latin discourses on infant baptism, a controversy in which he was deeply versed. He wrote several discourses on infant baptism, in which he treated the main questions with great seriousness and solid argument. The two Latin discourses, which he published on this subject, are said to be, for modesty, learning, and argumentation, not at all inferior to any of the other productions of his pen. The first of these is entitled, "De Baptismatis Infantilis vi & Efficacia Disceptatio privatim habita inter V. C. Dom. Sam. Wardum, & Th. Gatakerum," 1651. The other is entitled, "Stricturae ad Epistolam J. Daven, de Baptismo Infantum," 1654.—His admirable edition of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus' Meditations has also been already mentioned. The work was reprinted in 1697, with the addition of the Emperor's Life, by Mr Dacier, together with some select notes of the same author, by Dr George Stanhope, who, in his dedication to the Lord Chancellor Somers, gives a very high character of our learned author. The most valued editions of these Meditations are said to be those with Gataker's notes, particularly that of Cambridge, 4to. 1652; of London, 4to. 1697; and of Utrecht, folio, 1698. Mr Gataker now appeared as an editor and annotator of ancient writings. In this walk, he was eminently distinguished, as he had formerly been in others; and his labours of this kind have been very much esteemed by the learned world. —These Meditations are collections of maxims and thoughts, in the spirit of the Stoic philosophy, without much connexion, or skill of composition, but breathing peculiar sentiments of piety and benevolence. They were written in Greek, Gataker has given a good Latin version, with a commentary, and the English reader is particularly indebted to Mr Graves for giving to them a modern English dress. This translator has added a few notes: others might very properly and advantageously have been selected from Gataker.—He published a vindication of his treatise on the name by which God made himself known to Moses and the people of Israel, in Latin, which is entitled, "Thomae Gatakeri Londinatis, Dissertationis De Tetra-

grammato suæ, adversus Capellum Vindicatio." Londini, 1652. Small piece.—He published a Vindication of the Annotations on Jer. x. 2. 4to. 1653. And A Discourse Apologetical, 4to. pp. 104. London, 1654, which has been formerly mentioned.—And "An Antidote against Error Concerning Justification," which has also been already brought to view, was published by his son, Charles, 4to. pp. 58. London, 1670. The celebrated Hermannus Witsius, in the year 1698, collected and published in one volume all Mr Gataker's critical works, entitled, "Opera Critica;" which probably will stand a monument to his memory as durable as time. His works *praise him in the gate*, and reflect much honour on the literary character of his country. In these, his zeal and courage in the Protestant cause are manifest. His learned performances in the Popish controversy about transubstantiation proved a very great and seasonable service to the cause of Protestants, and most deservedly rendered him conspicuous in the eyes of the most enlightened and respectable persons of those times, who admired his erudition and his fortitude as much as his humility and his readiness to serve the Church of Christ. His writings have a strong tendency to enlarge the sphere of critical knowledge, and of genuine piety; and in these he shews himself well read in biblical learning. They are full of large and learned marginal references or notes. They are works of laborious meditation, and of accurate and extensive inquiry. They *come home*, like Bacon's Essays, *to men's business and bosoms, and will, therefore, live as long as books last.*

Mr JOHN GIBBON, OF WALTHAM,

A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

I HAVE sought much in vain for some particular information respecting Mr John Gibbon, of Waltham. In my researches, I have only found that he had a son of both

his names, who was ejected by the Act of Uniformity from Blackfriars, London; that he was minister at Waltham, was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and is in Neal's list marked as giving constant attendance.

SAMUEL GIBSON,

PASTOR OF BURLEIGH, AND ONE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

MR SAMUEL GIBSON had the character of a learned, pious, and judicious divine. He was also very modest and humble, as pious and judicious men generally are. He was Pastor of Burleigh, or Burley, as it is also written, in Rutlandshire, in England. He was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and constantly attended that learned body. While he was at London attending the Assembly, he was some time minister at Margaret's, Westminster. He was one of those who agreed to and subscribed the proposition, "That Jesus Christ, as King of the Church, has himself appointed a church-government, distinct from the civil magistrate." He preached to the House of Commons. In his sermon to them, he says, "Honourable Senators, ye do well that every morning before ye go to the work of the day, ye begin with prayer to God, for his direction, and assistance, and blessing. I hope every member doth it with an humble heart, apprehensive of his own impotency, and nothingness; for certainly neither the ablest church-men in spiritual affairs, nor the wisest statesmen in temporal, can do any thing well without God, and therefore it is good to follow the old rule, and that is, to begin with God, lest errors be committed for want of his direction."[a]

Mr Gibson has written and published;

The Ruin of the Authors and Fomentors of Civil Wars;

a Ab Jove principium.

as it was delivered in a sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, in Margaret's Church, Westminster, Sept. 24th, being the day of the monthly Fast, 1645. 4to. pp. 35. London, 1645. The text is 2 Sam. xvii. 14. The author says in it, "Many will say they stand for the *Common Prayer Book*, and they will fight for that as long as they can stand on their legs. A resolution fitter for the vulgar *Welch*, than for understanding *Englishmen;* for that Book was never of God's making, and no wise man will venture his life, and shed his blood, for any book made by man, were it never so good, for he can look for no reward of God for it.—But it hath been often said, *Take away the Common Prayer Book, take away our Religion.* Nay, our Religion is in the Bible, there is our God, and our Christ, and our Faith, and our Creed in all points. The whole Bible was Paul's belief; there are the Psalms of David, and his Prayers, and the Lord's Prayer, and other prayers, by which we may learn to pray. We have still the Lord's Songs, the Songs of Zion, sung by many with grace in their hearts, *making melody to the Lord*, though without organs. There we have all the commandments." He gives his testimony also against the Book of Sports, adding: "Our Court-prelates made the King Lord of the Sabbath, and themselves Lords of misrule: compelling parents, and masters, and ministers, and magistrates, to suffer their sons and daughters, and servants of both sexes, to play, and sport, and dance, if they had a mind to it, and to profane a great part of the day. Here was trenching upon God's prerogative.—They who were for the Book of Sports, would not endure the name *Sabbath.*" Mr Gibson was a stout champion for the Parliament, for the Reformation, and for *the Truth as it is in Jesus.* He gives, in his sermon above mentioned, the highest commendation to the Brethren and Church of Scotland for reformation. He says, "They shewed zeal and courage, and quickened us when we in a manner had lost ourselves, and there was little life in us. They have been instruments to promote the Reformation which we have."

GEORGE GIPPS,

RECTOR OF AYLESTON, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

GEORGE GIPPS was Rector of Ayleston, in Leicestershire, a County almost in the centre of England. He was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and is marked by Mr Neal as constantly attending. He preached to the House of Commons. He published at their desire a sermon which he preached from Psal. xlvi. 1. This is entitled, "A Sermon preached (before God, and from Him) to the Honourable House of Commons, at a publike Fast, Novemb. 27, in the yeare *God is our refuge, our strength; a helpe in troubles verie abundant we finde.*" This was in the year 1644. 4to. pp. 32. London, 1645.

Mr Gipps seems to have been a self-denied and pious man, and not a bad casuist. Dr Calamy informs us, that a son of his, John, was cast out for non-conformity. But I cannot give any farther account of him.

Mr William Good, or Goodie, as he seems to have written his name, is another of those Divines respecting whom I have not found much information. At this distance of time, we cannot expect much information respecting all those divines who met at Westminster in the seventeenth century. I have, however, received large accounts of some of those eminent men, in the goodness of Divine Providence, and shall endeavour to give the reader, from a considerable collection of materials, whatever authentic information has appeared to me interesting, curious, and useful. Great defects are now unavoidable; especially respecting those persons who lived in some degree of obscurity, and were less employed in the great transactions of the times.

WILLIAM GOODE, B. D.

PASTOR OF DENTON, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

WILLIAM GOODE was Pastor of Denton, in the County of Norfolk, in England. He was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, and superadded. He constantly attended; and was one of those divines who subscribed the proposition, respecting church-government, which has been repeatedly mentioned.

I have seen two good sermons which he published; the one is entitled, "The Discovery of a public spirit, presented in a sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, at Margaret's, Westminster, at their public Fast, 26th March 1645." 4to. pp. 32. London, 1645. The other is entitled, "Jacob Raised; Or, The means of making a Nation happy both in spiritual and temporal Privileges:" A Sermon from Amos vii. 5, before the Lords at Westminster, Fast, Dec. 30th, 1646. 4to. London, 1647.

THOMAS GOODWIN, D. D.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN LONDON, A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER, AND PRESIDENT OF MAGDALEN-COLLEGE, IN OXFORD.

THOMAS GOODWIN was born at Rolesby, a small village in the County of Norfolk, in England, on the 5th of October, in the year 1600. He was the eldest son of Richard and Catharine Goodwin, the name of whose family was Collinwood. His parents watched over his infant-mind with peculiar care, and they endeavoured to

bring him up *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.* Being religiously educated and early intended by his parents for the holy ministry, he received a suitable education in grammar-learning, and on the 25th of August, in the year 1613, he was sent to Christ-Church-College, in the University of Cambridge. He continued about six years in that college, which was then in a very flourishing condition, having about two hundred students. He applied there with great diligence to his studies, and soon secured the esteem of his tutors, and attracted much notice in the University. In the year 1619, he removed to Catherine-hall, in the same University, of which he became afterward a Fellow, and was also chosen Lecturer for the year 1620. For some time he was an admirer of Doctor, afterward Bishop, Senhouse, whose sermons were adorned with flowers of wit and human learning, collected from the Fathers, Poets and Historians. This mode of preaching was at that time much applauded by many scholars in the University. Mr Goodwin was then ignorant in a great degree both of the corruption of his nature, and of the necessity and worth of Jesus Christ. He pursued vain wisdom, and leaned unto his own understanding. He walked in the vanity of his mind, seeking applause and preferment. But Almighty God, in the unsearchable riches of his grace, was pleased to change his heart, and to turn the course of his life to his own service and glory. Mr Goodwin kept a diary, of which his son says he had above a hundred sheets written with his father's own hand, and in which are recorded, the account of the work of the Holy Spirit on his soul, in converting him to God, and many of his religious exercises and experiences. As nothing so clearly and fully unfolds the work of the Holy Spirit, and the exercise of the soul, in conversion, as a person's diary, I shall partly give the account of these in Mr Goodwin's own words, which may be both acceptable and useful to readers who have a taste for such things. He says,

"Though by the course of nature in my first birth, I was not like to live, being born before my time, and therefore of a weak constitution; yet God so kept and

strengthened me, that he preserved me, as David says, *When I hung upon my mother's breasts;* as one in whom he meant to manifest his grace, in the miraculous conversion of my soul to himself. He did often stir up in me in my childish years, the sparks of conscience, to keep me from gross sins, and to set me upon performing common duties. I began to have slighter workings of the Spirit of God, from the time I was six years old; I could weep for my sins, whenever I did set myself to think of them, and had flashes of joy upon thoughts of the things of God. I was affected with good motions and affections of love to God and Christ, for their love revealed to man, and with grief for sin, as displeasing them. This shewed how far goodness of nature might go, as well in myself as others, to whom yet true sanctifying grace never comes. But this I thought was grace, for I reasoned with myself, it was not by nature. I received the sacrament at Easter, when I was fourteen years old, and for that prepared myself as I was able. I set myself to examine whether I had grace or not; and by all the signs in Ursin's Catechism, which was in use among the Puritans in the College, I found them all, as I thought in me. The love of God to such a sinner, and Christ's dying for me, did greatly affect me: and at that first sacrament I received, with what inward joy and comfort, did I sing with the rest the ciii. Psalm, which was usually sung during the administration! After having received, I felt my heart cheared in a wonderful manner, thinking myself sure of heaven, and judging all these workings to be infallible tokens of God's love to me, and of grace in me: All this while not considering that these were but mere strong fits of nature's working. God hereby made way to advance the power of his grace the more in me, by shewing me how far I might go, and yet deceive myself, and making me to know that grace is a thing surpassing the power of nature; and therefore he suffered me to fall away, not from these good motions, for I could raise them when I would, but from the practice of them; insomuch as then my heart began to suspect them as counterfeit.—I made a great preparation for the next ensuing

sacrament, and in the mean time, I went to hear Mr Sibbs, then Lecturer at Trinity Church to the town of Cambridge, whose lecture the Puritans frequented. I also read Calvin's Institutions, and O how sweet was the reading of some parts of that book to me! How pleasing was the delivery of truths in a solid manner then to me? Before the sacrament was administred, I looked upon the holy men in Christ's College, where I was bred, and how affected was I, that I should go to heaven with them!—When I was in my place in the chapel, ready to receive the sacrament, being little of stature, the least in the whole University then, my tutor seeing me, sent to me that I should not receive it, but go out before all the College, which I did. This so much dampt me, as I greatly pitied myself, but chiefly for this, that my soul, which was full of expectation from this sacrament, was so unexpectedly disappointed of the opportunity. For I had long before verily thought, that if I received that sacrament, I should be so confirmed, that I should never fall away.

But after this disappointment I left off praying; for being discouraged I knew not how to go to God. I desisted from going to hear Dr Sibbs any more. I no more studied sound divinity, but gave myself to such studies as should enable me to preach after the mode, then of high applause in the University, which Dr Senhouse brought up, and was applauded above all by the scholars.—Arminianism was now set a foot in Holland, and the rest of these provinces, and it continued hottest at that very time when I was thus wrought upon. I perceived by their doctrine, which I understood, being inquisitive, that they acknowledged a work of the Spirit of God to begin with men, by moving the soul; but free-will then from its freedom carried it, though assisted by these helps. And this work of the Spirit they called grace, sufficient in the first beginnings of it, exciting, moving and helping the will of man, to turn to God, and giving him power to turn, when being thus helped he would set himself to do it: But withal they affirmed, that though men are thus converted, yet by the freedom of the same will, they may,

and do often in time, fall away totally; and then upon another fit, through the liberty of the will, again assisted by the like former helps, they return again to repentance.

Farthermore, I am yet to tell you, how I was acquainted, during this season, with several youths in Christ's College, who had made known to me the workings of God upon them, in humiliation, faith, and change of heart. And I observed that they continued their profession stedfast, and fell not off again. Though the Arminian doctrines suited my own experience, in these natural workings of conscience off and on in religion; yet the example of those godly youths, in their constant perseverance therein, made so strong an impression on me, that in my very heart and judgment, I thought the doctrine of Arminianism was not true. And I was fixed under a conviction, that my state was not right; but yet I could not imagine wherein it was defective. But notwithstanding my falling thus away, yet I still upon every sacrament set myself of new to examine myself, to repent, and turn to God: but when the sacrament was over, I returned to a neglect of praying, and to my former ways of unregenerate principles and practices, and to live in hardness of heart and profaneness. When I was thus given over to the strength of my lusts, and farther from all goodness than ever I had been, and utterly out of hope, that God would ever be so good to me, as to convert me, and being resolved to follow the world, the glory, applause, preferment, and honour of it, and to use all means possible for these attainments.

When I was one day going to be merry with my companions at Christ's College, hearing a bell toll at St Edmund's for a funeral, one of my company said, There was a sermon, and pressed me to hear it. I was loth to go in, for I loved not preaching, especially that kind of it that good men used, and which I thought to be dull stuff: but yet seeing many scholars going in, I thought it was some eminent man, or if it were not so, that I would come out again. I went in before the hearse came, and took a seat, and fain would I have been gone, but shame made me stay. I was never so loth to hear a sermon in

my life. Enquiring who preached, they told me it was Dr Bambridge, which made me the more willing to stay, because he was a witty man. He preached from Luke xix. 41, 42. I remember the first words of the sermon pleased me so well, as to make me very attentive all the while. He spake of deferring repentance, and of the danger of doing so. Then he said, that every man had his day, it was, *This thy Day*, not to-morrow, but to-day. He shewed also that every man had a time, in which grace was offered him; and if he neglected it, it was just with God, that it should be hidden from his eyes. And that as in things temporal, it was an old saying, That every man had an opportunity, which, if he took hold of, he was made for ever: so in spiritual things, every man has a time, in which if he would know the things which belong to his peace, he was made for ever; but otherwise, they would be hid from his eyes. This a little moved me, as I had wont to be at other sermons. Then he came to shew that the neglect of this had final impenitence, blindness of mind, and hardness of heart; concluding with this saying, Every day thou prayest, pray to God to keep thee from blindness of mind, and hardness of heart. The matter of the sermon was vehemently urged on the hearer, whoever he was who deferred his repentance, not to let slip the opportunity of that day, but immediately to turn to God, and defer no longer, being edged with that direful threatening, lest if he did not turn to God in *that day*, the day of grace and salvation, it might be eternally hidden from his eyes. I was so far affected, that I said to a companion of mine who came to church with me, and indeed had brought me to that sermon, *That I hope to be the better for this sermon as long as I live.* That companion and I had come out of our own chambers at Catherine-hall, with a fixed design to have gone to some of my like acquaintance at Christ's College, on purpose to be merry and spend that afternoon; but as I went along, was accidentally persuaded, to hear some of the sermon This was on Monday in the afternoon 2d October 1620. As soon as we came out of the church, I left my fellows to go to Christ's College; but my

thoughts being retired then, I went to Catherine-hall, and left all my acquaintance, though they sent after me to come.—I thought myself to be as one struck down by a mighty power.[a] The grosser sins of my conversation came in upon me, which I wondered at, as being unseasonable at first; and so the working began, but was prosecuted still more and more, higher and higher; and I, endeavouring not to entertain the least thought of my sins, was passively held under the remembrance of them, and affected, so as I was rather passive all the while in it than active, and my thoughts held under, while that work went on.[b]

I remember some two years after, of preaching at Ely in the Minster, for Dr Hill, Master of our College, I told the auditory, meaning myself, that for a man to be converted, who is ordinarily ignorant of what the work of conversion should be, and what particular passages it consists of, and that yet he should be guided through all the dark corners and windings of it, would be a wonder to think of, and would be as if a man were to go to the top of that lanthorn, to bring him to all the passages of the Minster, within and without doors, and knew not a jot of the way, and were in every step in danger to tread awry and fall down. So it was with me, I knew no more of that work of conversion than these two general heads, that a man was troubled in conscience for his sins, and afterward was comforted by God's favour manifested to him. And it was one evidence of the truth of the work of grace upon me, when I reviewed it, that I had been so strangely guided in the dark. In all this intercourse, and those that follow to the end, I was acted all along by the Spirit of God upon me, and my thoughts passively held fixed, until each head and sort of thoughts were finished, and then a new thought began and continued, which made me view them as so many conferences God had with me, by way of reproof and conviction.—An abundant discovery was made unto me of my inward lusts and concupiscence, and how all sorts of concupiscences had wrought in

a See Acts ix. 3—9. b See Rom. vii. 9.

me; and I was amazed, to see with what greediness I had sought the satisfaction of every lust." [a]

Mr Goodwin proceeds, informing us, that by the Divine illumination which he now enjoyed, he had obtained a very full and affecting discovery of the most secret sins of his heart; it being searched, as it were with candles, agreeably to the prophet's phrase. That he now clearly saw his inward corruption, as the root, or fountain, of all his sinful courses; and ceased from *going about to establish his own righteousness;* which he never before had done. He now saw, that the sinfulness of his sin was exceedingly enlarged, *Wherefore he abhorred himself, and repented in dust and ashes.* He *was humbled under God's mighty hand,* with whom only and immediately he had to do.—Under a full conviction of the original corruption of his nature, and vitiated state of all his faculties, he was much affected with a sight and sense, that his heart was entirely empty of all spiritual goodness. *For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing.* Finding himself altogether destitute of any spiritual good thing toward the Lord God of Israel; and having a strong propensity unto all evil, he was very much inclined to trace his sinfulness, both in heart and life, unto it's proper source. Here he says, "And after I had well debated with myself, that one place, Rom. v. 12, *By one man sin entered into the world, and death by him, and passed upon all men, in whom, or in that all had sinned:* That it was in him they all sinned, for they had not in and of themselves sinned actually, as those who die infants, *after the similitude of Adam's transgression,* which limitation is there cautiously added by the apostle, to shew that they had not actually sinned of themselves, but are simply involved in his *act* of sinning; and that sin wherein we were all involved, as guilty of it, is expressly said to be the *disobedience of that one man;* for by one man's disobedience, many of his children of the sons of men, were all made sinners; for disobedience notes an act of sinning, not a sinful nature or habit. This caused me necessarily to conceive

a See Rom. vii. 8.

thus of it, that it was the guilt or demerit of that one man's disobedience, that corrupted my nature. Under such apprehensions as these, did my spirit lie convicted so strongly of this great truth, that being gone to bed some hours before, and filled with these meditations, I rose out of bed, being alone, and solemnly fell down on my knees before God, the Father of all the family in heaven, and did of my own accord, assume and take on me the guilt of that sin, as truly as any of my own actual sins."—

Having had a most affecting discovery made unto him of the vanity of his mind, the deceitfulness of his heart, and of the wretchedness and sinfulness of his condition, he was entirely shut up, and, for sometime, he saw no way of relief; but together with the deplorable sight of his own sinfulness and vileness, he saw also hell opening it's mouth ready to receive and devour him. And, the very alarming consideration of the eternity of misery, *Where their worm dies not, and the fire is never quenched*, greatly disquieted his soul, and pierced it through with many sorrows. He lay bound very closely under the pressure of divine wrath, as being subject to the righteous judgment of the Lord, as the word, he says, should be translated. How long his soul continued filled with these thoughts, he did not remember, but says, that the time was short. He was now, indeed, under a solid and strong conviction of God's wrath abiding on him, as being in a state of unbelief; but God, *who is rich in mercy to relieve all who call upon him*, soon set his soul free from trouble. He, whose faithfulness never fails, sent his word and healed his patient.

" At the noise of thy water-spouts
deep unto deep doth call;
Thy breaking waves pass over me,
yea, and thy billows all.
His loving-kindness yet the Lord
command will in the day,
His song's with me by night; to God,
by whom I live, I'll pray."

God was mindful of his word of promise to Mr Goodwin, *and did not suffer him to be tempted above that he was able; but did with the temptation also make a way to escape, that he might be able to bear it.* When his soul was dead in trespasses and sins, the Father of mercies, the Lord of life, and the God of all comfort, said unto him, *Live; yea, He said unto him, Live.* The Lord God of salvation was graciously pleased, in a very unexpected manner, to change the whole of his former dispensation respecting the subject of this memoir, to his inexpressible comfort and advantage: and having imparted a new life and spirit unto his soul, He also said to him, for his farther encouragement under his distress, *Thy sins, which are many, are forgiven. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.* Mr. Goodwin, through patience and comfort of the Holy Scriptures, now enjoyed the real pleasures of hope. Like Saul, who was afterward called Paul, he *obtained mercy;* and really found that *the grace of our Lord was exceedingly abundant with faith and love which is in Christ Jesus.* And that *This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom he was chief.* And having formerly a strong guard set upon him, as the prisoner of hell, he now, in his sweet experience, through the grace of the divine Spirit, found the Lord Jesus Christ speaking a word in season unto his weary and distressed soul. And he reckoned, that the example of Paul, and similar examples of conversion, are exhibited by God, "as flags of mercy before a company of rebels to win them in." *For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope,* Rom. xv. 4. Examples are used both for the illustration and confirmation of rules. And, "that God pardoned such a man in such a condition, is often brought home to another man in the same condition, and contains implied in it; a secret promise, that he may do so to me, in the like condition."

Mr Goodwin now, in a particular manner, found that he was endowed with a new nature, new dispositions of soul, natively inclining him to good, whereas before he was only inclined to evil. He now found not only good temporary motions from the Spirit of God, when he applied himself to holy duties; but a new indweller, or habitual principle of opposition to indwelling sin, and a real hatred of it, to which he was formerly an entire stranger. He now found, that the beautiful image of God was happily restored unto his precious and immortal soul. Being really renewed in the spirit of his mind, he was effectually taught *to put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness. He was renewed in knowledge after the image of him who created him.* He found, in his sad experience and also to his comfort, that there were two very contrary principles in him, spirit against flesh, and flesh against spirit. The internal principle of grace against the corruption of nature, and the corruption of nature against the internal principle of grace. These two very contrary principles are found in all regenerate persons, while they are strangers and pilgrims on the earth. *For*, in them *the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh*, Gal. v. 17. And, Mr Goodwin found also the wide difference of that opposition, which the natural conscience only makes against a lust, and that which the spirit, or internal principle of grace, makes against the flesh, or corruption of our nature. He found that the *spirit* not only contradicted and checked the *flesh*, but also made a real natural opposition to it, such as fire does to water; so that the spirit did as truly lust against the work of the flesh, as the flesh against that of the spirit. He here farther remarks, that he did not discover this difference, either by reading, or hearing any person speak of it but solely from his own experience. He now concluded, that this contest between grace and corruption was peculiar to a regenerate person. He argued in the following manner: It is not in God; for he is only and infinitely holy. It is not in devils; for they are wholly sin. It is not in good angels; for they are entirely holy. It is not in wicked men; for they have no

internal principle of grace in them, to fight with the corruption of their nature, in such a manner.—He could now bless God, and say, "I am what I was not." He was quite contrary to what he was in the past years of his life, in judgment, in heart, and in conversation. Upon this, he heartily resolved to turn from all known sins unto God, under the influence of his grace snd Spirit; and became an eminent example of strict and serious godliness, entertaining the truth of it, as far as he had received it from the word of God. And under divine direction and assistance, he looked back on his former ways and sinful state, and took a summary survey of his chief sins and lusts; and readily found that he had been *a lover of pleasures more than a lover of God.*—That he had formerly sought, with his whole soul, vain glory, and academical praise. *I thought on my ways, and turned my feet unto thy testimonies.* He now chiefly aimed at the glory of God, in all his thoughts, words, and actions. And with the fear of God before his eyes, he turned his attention in a particular manner to his aim in his studies, upon which he had spent all his time. Having been early devoted by his parents to the work of the holy ministry, he was now made duly sensible of the importance of that service in the church of God, to which he had been devoted. As he improved in learning, he did grow also in grace, which enabled him to lay out all his other attainments to the glory of God, and especially in the deeply interesting work of the ministry. Having now a peculiar zeal for the glory of God, a great regard for the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and a most tender concern for the everlasting salvation of precious and immortal souls, he readily found, that affectation of wit, vain glorious eloquence, which he formerly pursued with great eagerness, *and every high thing which exalts itself against the knowledge of God, were all brought into captivity and obedience to Christ.* He had formerly sought his own glory, the honour and applause of men; but now he sought the glory of Him who sent him. And he concluded, That *he who seeks his glory who sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him.* He says, "I came to this

resolved principle, that I would preach wholly and altogether sound wholesome words, without affectation of wit and vanity of eloquence. And in the end, this project of wit and vain glory was wholly sunk in my heart, and I left all, and have continued in that purpose and practice these threescore years; and I never was so much as tempted to put in any of my own withered flowers which I had gathered and valued more than diamonds, nor have they offered themselves to my memory, to the bringing them into a sermon to this day; but I have preached what I thought was truly edifying, either for conversion of souls, or bringing them up to eternal life." He earnestly *longed to impart to them some spiritual gift, by which they might be edified.* His inquiry now was not, how he might raise his own reputation; but how he might glorify God and be the instrument of saving sinners.

He was a great admirer at this time of Dr Preston, and became a frequent hearer of him, and of Dr Hill, who were thorough Calvinists, and whose sentiments and views of things he now adopted. He considered those eminent divines as his models, while he was preparing for the important office of the Christian ministry. It was a considerable time before he came to have a clear knowledge of the gospel, and a full view of Christ by faith, and to have joy and peace in believing. He says, "I was diverted from Christ several years, to search only into the signs of grace in me. It was almost seven years ere I was taken off to live by faith on Christ, and on God's free love, which are alike the object of faith." His thoughts for such a length of time were chiefly and intensely set on the conviction which he was under of the heinousness of sin, and of his own sinful nature and miserable state, as a child of wrath; and on the difference between the workings of the natural conscience, though enlightened, and the motions of the heaven-born soul, when changed and under the influences of the Holy Spirit, in an effectual work of peculiar and saving grace.—

He entered into a very great intimacy with that eminently pious minister of Jesus Christ, Mr Price of Lynn, who was the instrument employed by God to lead him into the

innermost temple of divine love and a gracious and experimental acquaintance with his Divine Saviour. From Mr Price's conversation, letters, example, and prayers, through the grace of the Eternal Spirit, Mr Goodwin was much enlightened into the sublime mysteries of the Redeemer's kingdom, and led into the real spirit of the gospel, to live by faith in Christ, and to derive from him life and strength for sanctification, and all comfort and joy through believing. By his means, he was led into the comfortable, heart-felt enjoyment, and gracious experience of true Christianity. Mr Price, in one of his letters to Mr Goodwin, writes as follows: "As for trials of your own heart, they are good for you, only remember this, that Christ, in whom you believe, has overcome for you, and he will overcome in you; the reason is in 1 John iv. 4. And I say trials are good for you, because else you would not know your own heart, nor that need of continual seeking to God; but without these trials your spirit would soon grow secure, which of all conditions of those who fear God, is most dangerous, and most uncomfortable. Therefore, count it exceeding cause of joy not of sorrow, when you are exercised with any temptations, because they are tokens of your being in Christ; which being in him, Satan would disquiet, and carnal reason would call in question: Yet stand fast in the liberty of Christ, maintain the work of God's free love, which his good Spirit has wrought in you. Say unto the Lord, Lord, thou knowest I hate my former sinful course, it grieves me that I have been so long such a stranger to thee, my Father. Thou knowest now I desire to believe in Jesus Christ, I desire to repent of my sins, and it is the desire of my heart to do thy will in all things. Finding these things in your heart, cast yourself upon the righteousness of Christ, and fear nothing; for God will be a most merciful God in Christ unto you. Strive but a little while and you shall be crowned." Mr Price, in another letter to him, says—"All your complaints are good, and will bring abundance of thankfulness in the end; for mark it in the Scripture, where the saints of God have complained for want of Christ or any good

thing from God in Christ, they have had ere long their hearts and tongues filled with thanksgiving and praise, Rom. vii 24, 25." By similar letters and conferences, Mr Price poured the balm of the grace of the gospel of Christ into Mr Goodwin's wounded soul, which, through the blessing of God, healed and comforted it. These truly evangelical instructions turned his thoughts to Christ, who is *the way, and the truth, and the life*, to find that relief in Him, which he had in vain sought for in other objects. As the result of that highly useful correspondence, Mr Goodwin wrote in the following manner to Mr Price,—"I am come to this pass now, that signs will do me no good alone: I have trusted too much to habitual grace, for assurance of justification—I tell you, *Christ is worth all.*" Mr Goodwin, coming thus to the Lord Jesus Christ, his weary soul most readily found true and everlasting rest in Him. *Come unto me, all ye who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* Mat. xi. 28.

Disclaiming now all vain wisdom and self-dependence, he was most happily brought, under divine influences, to sit down at the feet of the Lord Jesus Christ, his blessed Master, to learn the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven from Him, who teaches as never man taught. At his school, he learned how widely different that knowledge of divine things is, which is acquired by mere human learning, from that sublime wisdom which comes from above.—He was admitted, upon preparatory examination, to preach the glorious gospel of the grace of God, and soon became a very celebrated preacher in Cambridge. He was now acquainted with *personal religion*, which has been considered as a necessary qualification in the Christian teacher. An eminent writer says, "God has not, indeed, limited the efficacy of ordinances by the character of the dispenser. But yet the Scriptures warrant us to say, that wicked ministers run unsent, and that God generally frowns upon, and blasts their labours.[a] When souls are entrusted to the slaves of Satan, we cannot but dread a

a Psal. l. 16. Jer. xxiii. 21—23.

bad account of them. For what concern will those feel, or what care will they take, about the salvation of others, who feel no concern for their own salvation? Ministers are men of God; an expression which surely implies that they are men devoted to his service, conformed to his blessed image, zealous for his honour, animated by his Spirit, and breathing after communion and fellowship with him. But a man of God, living without God in the world! a master of Israel, ignorant of the new birth! a guide to Zion, walking in the paths that lead to destruction! a soldier of Christ, in league with Satan! is a shocking and monstrous absurdity. The light of the world, and the salt of the earth, are too honourable titles for any under the power of darkness and corruption.—An infinitely wise God would scarcely appoint those to help others to Christ, who themselves are strangers to him; or commission those as his ambassadors, to negotiate a treaty of peace with an apostate rebel world, who themselves are obstinately persisting in treachery and rebellion." [a]

Mr Goodwin was chosen Lecturer of Trinity-Church in Cambridge, in the year 1628, though not without opposition from Dr Buckridge, bishop of Ely. The bishop, at first, made some difficulty in admitting him to that place, unless he would solemnly promise, in pursuance of the King's proclamation, not to preach respecting any controverted points in divinity. Mr Goodwin ingeniously remarked, that the most essential articles of the Christian faith, being controverted by some persons, such a promise would scarcely leave him any subject to preach upon. That it was not his Majesty's intention to inhibit him or any other person, from preaching against the gross errors of Popery. After some opposition he was admitted. And he was presented by the King to the vicarage of the same church, in the year 1632. In this situation he was much followed and admired by the Puritans, who were now rapidly increasing in numbers in the University, as well as in the kingdom at large. In the

a Dr Erskine's Disc. from James iii. 1.

Memoirs of his Life, he is said to have been a happy instrument in turning many persons to the love and practice of serious religion. He says himself, "After I had been seven years from Cambridge, coming out of Holland, I had for some years after, well nigh every month, serious and hearty acknowledgements from several young men, who had received the light of their conversion by my ministry, while I was in the University of Cambridge. And this was the great encouragement I had to return again to an University, having enjoyed so frequently a testimony of the fruit of my labours while I was preacher of Cambridge; and what the success has been at Oxford, I leave to Christ till the latter day." His preaching at first was for the most part, if not wholly, much calculated to produce conviction and terror; to alarm the conscience and wound the heart. But upon his obtaining the sweet experience of the heavenly refreshing comforts, which flow plentifully into the soul from the knowledge of Christ, and free justification by his finished righteousness alone, he became a zealous preacher of the glorious gospel of the grace of God, for the consolation of such distressed consciences, as his own had been. He seems to have made a good improvement of a hint which the celebrated Dr Sibbs gave him, in a familiar manner, as follows: "Young man, if you ever would do good, you must preach the gospel, and the free grace of God in Christ Jesus." He readily complied with his friend's advice; and he called his sermons of the glory of the gospel, which were printed in the fifth volume of his works, his *Evangelical First-Fruits.* The only copy of these sermons was very remarkably preserved and recovered, by the special and unremitting care of Divine Providence. The portmanteau in which they were, was, by a thief, cut off from Mr Goodwin's horse, in the dark of the evening, just against St Andrew's church-yard in Holborn. The clerk or sexton, coming on the morning of the Lord's-day to ring the bell, found a bundle of papers, lying at the foot of a large tree. In it there were some acquittances, which a bookseller of Cambridge, who had accompanied Mr Goodwin to London, had from

some of his customers. By these only, the clerk could know to whom the bundle belonged, who brought it to the bookseller, who was his particular friend.

Mr Goodwin, becoming dissatisfied with the terms of conformity, relinquished his preferments, and quitted the University, in the year 1634. In giving up his preferments, and removing from the University, he sincerely followed the light which God had given him from his word; and though he was thereby subjected to great outward trouble, he had much inward comfort, and especially from these appropriate words of his blessed Saviour, which are recorded in Luke xviii. 29, 30. *And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, Who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.* That exceedingly great and precious promise, and the performance of it, afforded him strong, lasting, divine, and inexpressible inward comfort, in all his outward trouble. The people of God have generally enjoyed most inward comfort, when they were under the greatest outward trouble. *For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ.* Mr Goodwin left all for the sake of Christ, and of his gospel. He was made willing on the memorable day of divine power, to live in the meanest and most afflicted condition, if so he might serve his Royal Master in all godly sincerity. He says, "I cheerfully parted with all for Christ, and he has made me abundant compensation, not only in the comforts and joys of his love, which are beyond comparison above all other things, but even in this world. What love and esteem I have had among good men, He gave me. He alone made my ministry in the gospel acceptable, and blessed it with success, to the conversion, and spiritual good and comfort of many souls."

In the year 1638, he married Elizabeth Prescott, the daughter of Alderman Prescott. She was really a help meet for him, being a woman of a very sweet temper, of lively wit, and of sincere piety, which rendered her pe-

culiarly agreeable to her husband, and to all her acquaintance. By her, God gave him an only daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to Mr John Mason, a citizen of London.

When the terms of conformity were closely urged, and the Puritans were severely persecuted by the Episcopal consistories, he was one of those ministers, who, in the year 1639, went over into Holland, to enjoy that Christian liberty which he could not enjoy in his own native land. In that country, he became pastor of an independent congregation at Arnheim. During the time of his abode in that place, some differences arising in the English Church at Rotterdam, he and the elders of the church at Arnheim, went to Rotterdam, and God was pleased to bless their friendly advice, to compose the differences, and to re-establish the disturbed peace of that Church. About the beginning of the long Parliament, he returned to London, and was chosen a pastor of a church in that famous city, and also a member of the venerable Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He took a brief account of the transactions of that memorable Assembly, in fourteen or fifteen volumes octavo, which his son says he had in his possession, written with his father's own hand. He was one of the dissenting Brethren in that assembly.[a] Wood says, that he was one of "the atlasses and patriarchs of Independency." In the year 1647, he had invitations from the reverend, pious and learned John Cotton, and other worthy ministers in New England, to go over to them. He was much inclined to comply with their invitation, and had put a part of his library on board a ship; but through the advice of his friends, to which he paid a great respect, he changed his resolution.

In the year 1649, he married Mrs Mary Hammond, who was descended from the ancient family of the Hammonds in Shropshire, whose ancestor was an officer in the army of William, Duke of Normandy, when he invaded England, in the year 1066. She was an help meet

a See Life of W. Bridge, pp. 141, 142.

for him, as his former wife had been; and by her, God gave him two sons, and two daughters.

He was a great favourite with Oliver Cromwell, who highly commended him as an eminent instrument in propagating the gospel, and a great luminary in the church. Through Cromwell's influence, Mr Goodwin was appointed President of Magdalen College in Oxford, in the year 1649. Here he formed a church upon the Independent plan, and was very diligent in promoting the interests of piety and learning. He was also made one of the triers of ministers, or commissioners for the approbation of preachers. In the common register of the University, he is said to be *well known to the world by many theological writings*. It has been supposed that he was the Independent minister, and head of a College, described in the 494th No. of the Spectator.—Having been bachelor of divinity of several years standing, he proceeded Doctor in divinity, Dec. 23, 1653. He attended Cromwell upon his death-bed. Soon after the Restoration, in 1660, he was dismissed from his Presidentship, when he retired to London, where he continued the exercise of his ministry until his death.

He now spent much of his time in religious retirement, in prayer, reading, and meditation. He read much, and the authors he esteemed and studied were, Augustine, Calvin, Muscuhus, Zanchius, Pareus, Walaeus, Gomarus, and Amesius; and among the schoolmen, Suares, and Esthius. But he chiefly read and studied the Holy Scriptures. And having furnished his library with a very good collection of commentators, he made good use of them. The everlasting love and free grace of God, and the glorious excellencies of the Lord Jesus Christ, were the truths in which he peculiarly delighted, in his meditations. These most precious truths were the life and food of his soul. And as his heart was deeply affected with them, he wrote and delivered these with a spiritual warmth which is better felt than can be expressed. Though he read much, he spent more time in thinking, and it was by intense thought that he made himself master of the subject of his discourse.

In the dreadful fire at London, in 1666, he lost above the half of his library, to the value of five hundred pounds. But his books of divinity, which were chiefly useful to him, were remarkably preserved. On this occasion, he wrote a discourse on patience, and it's perfect work, which soon after was published.

We come now to the account of Dr Goodwin's death. He was seized with a fever, which in a few days put an end to his life in this world. As his life was exemplary, his death was edifying. In all the violence of his fever, he discoursed with such strong faith, and assurance of Christ's love, with such holy admiration of free grace and joy in believing, and with such heavenly expressions of gratitude and praise, as deeply affected all persons who heard him. When one prayed earnestly for him, "That God would return into his bosom all those comforts, which he had by his ministry of *free grace*, poured into many distressed souls," he found that the prayer was speedily answered, in the abundant consolation which he enjoyed. Divine comforts now filled his soul. He had great joy and peace in believing. He rejoiced in the thoughts that he was dying, and going to enjoy full and uninterrupted communion with God. He said, "I am going to the Three Persons, with whom I have had communion: they have taken me, I did not take them. I shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye; all my lusts and corruptions I shall be rid of, which I could not be here. These croaking toads will fall off in a moment." And mentioning these illustrious examples of faith, Heb. xi. he said, "All these died in faith. I could not have imagined, that I should ever have had such a measure of faith in this hour. No, I could never have imagined it. My bow abides in strength. Is Christ divided? No, I have the whole of his righteousness. I am found in Him, not in my own righteousness which is of the law, but in the righteousness which is of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, *who loved me, and gave himself for me.* Christ cannot love me better than he doth; I think I cannot love Christ better than I do. I am swallowed up in God." The Lord Jesus Christ was "as honey to his mouth,

music to his ears, and joy to his heart," as He is to all true believers. *Christ* was all to him; and he found inexpressible delight in the love of Christ, *which passes knowledge*. He saw the vast importance of a Mediator between God and sinners.—That *Jesus* was a necessary and an all-sufficient Saviour; and the only support for a departing soul. And he did not build the hopes of his salvation upon the quicksand of his good works, but alone on the firm and eternal rock, *Christ Jesus*. Directing his speech to his two sons, he exhorted them to value the privilege of the Covenant. He said, "It has taken hold on me. My mother was a holy woman, she spake nothing diminishing of it. It is a privilege, which cannot be valued enough, nor purchased with a great sum of money," alluding to the words of the chief captain to Paul, Acts xxii. 28. Then he exhorted them to be careful that they did nothing to provoke God to reject them. And upon that he said; *Now, I shall be ever with the Lord*. With this assurance of faith, and fulness of joy, his soul left this world, and went to enjoy the reality of that blissful state of glory, which, in a discourse on that subject, he beautifully unfolded.—He died, Feb. 23d, 1680, in the 80th year of his age. His mortal remains were buried in a little vault toward the east end of the new burial place for dissenters, joining on the north side of the new Artillery yard by Bunhill-Fields.[a]

Dr Goodwin, in doctrinal sentiment, was a Calvinist of the Supralapsarian cast. And zealously recommending what he considered to be the genuine doctrines of Christianity, he neglected not to remind his hearers or his readers of the strong incitements which these sublime doctrines presented to purity both in heart and life. Dr Calamy says that "he was a very considerable scholar, and an eminent divine; and had a very happy faculty in descanting upon Scripture so as to bring forth surprising remarks, which yet generaly tended to illustration." He was a writer of very considerable eminence. Dr Wilkins,

a His Life by his Son, Calamy's Account, Neal's Hist. Purit. and Wood's Athenæ.

in his Gift of Preaching, places him among some of the most eminent English divines for sermons and practical divinity. And Dr Cotton Mather, in his Student and Preacher, says, "If you would see sound doctrine, the works of an Owen have it for you.—You have a Goodwin who will place you among the children of light, and will give you the marrow of the doctrine which is according to godliness. He often soars like an eagle; perhaps, you would have been content, if sometimes a little more concisely." His style is plain and familiar; but diffuse, homely, obscure and tedious, though not disagreeable to a sober mind. He handles his subject with much gravity and decency, and at great length. Fiery declamations, or appeals to the passions, discover more enthusiasm than judgment. But Dr Goodwin's discourses are very judicious, pious, grave, and well digested. They are temperate, and attended with conclusive reasoning, having a tendency to make an impression on the mind of the sensible reader and of the practical Christian, which reflection confirms, the understanding approves, and the memory retains. He had a remarkable talent for exposition. He delighted much in searching into difficult texts, and was successful in his attempts. The least particles of speech came under his notice, and in many instances he has made it appear, how much depends upon *little words*, in the Sacred Writings, which are too generally overlooked. It is said, that his writings continue to be much read and esteemed by the Calvinistic Independents. They are numerous, and some were printed in his lifetime, and others after his death. The sentiment is valuable.

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1. *A Child of Light walking in Darkness:* Or, A Treatise shewing the causes by which the cases wherein, and the ends for which, God leaves his children to distress of conscience. Together with directions how to walk so as to come out of such a condition. With other observations upon Isai. l. 10, 11. Quarto, of 255 pages. London, 1636—1644—1647, and London, 1651, 4to. pp. 165. in a collection of the author's other pieces,

which follow, entitled, *Certain Select Cases Resolved;* especially tending to the comfort of believers, in their chief and usual Temptations. Very useful for afflicted souls.

2. *Return of Prayers:* A Treatise, in which this case, How to discern God's answers to our prayers, is briefly resolved; with other observations upon Psal. lxxxv. 8. respecting God's speaking *Peace unto his people, and to his saints.* I cannot tell when the first edition of this treatise was printed; but I have seen an edition of it, 4to. pp. 100. London, 1651, and another in a small size. Glasgow. 1748.

3. *The Trial of a Christian's Growth, in Mortification, and Vivification;* or, *in Purging out Corruption, and bringing forth more Fruit,* on John xv. 1, 2. This treatise was printed when the author was absent from his native country, under considerable disadvantage both in style and matter, which, upon his return, he amended, as he informs us in a preface to it, under the date of April 26th, 1643. It was also printed, London, 1650. 4to. pp. 110.

4. *The Vanity of Thoughts Discovered: with their Danger and Cure.* London, 1638-43, 1650. 4to. pp. 33.

5. *Aggravation of sin; and sinning against Knowledge and Mercy;* in several sermons delivered on different occasions. London, 1643—& 1650. 4to. pp. 92.

6. *Christ set forth in his Death, Resurrection, Ascension, Sitting at God's right-hand, and Intercession, as the Cause of Justification, and the Object of Justifying Faith,* upon Rom. viii. 34. Together with a Treatise discovering the affectionate tenderness of Christ's heart now in heaven, unto sinners, on earth. These treatises are said to have been first printed in 1642. I have seen a second edition of them both, London, 1642. And another edition, London, 1651.

7. *Christ the Universal Peace-Maker:* Or, The Reconciliation of all the People of God, notwithstanding all their differences and enmities. London, 1651. I have seen all these treatises collected into one volume, in quarto.

8. *Zerubbabel's Encouragement to Finish the Temple:* A sermon preached from Zech. iv. 6—9, before the House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, April 27th, 1642. 4to. pp. 59. London, 1642.

9. *The Great Interest of States and Kingdoms:* A sermon from Psal. cv. 14, 15, before the House of Commons, Fast, Feb. 25th, 1645. 4to. pp. 59. London, 1646.

10. *The World to Come:* Or, The Kingdom of Christ asserted; in two Expository Lectures on Eph. i. 21, 22. London, 1655.

11. *Patience and its perfect work under sudden and sore Trials;* which was written upon his loss by the great fire of London.

12. After his death; A Treatise of the Punishment of Sin in Hell, was published by Mr Thankful Owen and Mr Barron; which was followed by five volumes in folio. His Works in folio, 1681, have been advertised for sale lately in London, 5 vols. £5. Fine copy, £5 15s. 6d. And a very fine copy, £7 17s. 6d.—His pieces which were published in his life-time, are accounted by some the most valuable. Wood says, that Mr Jemmat translated into Latin some part of Dr Thomas Goodwin's works, which were printed at Heidelberg in 1658. I have seen his writings both in England and Scotland.

WILLIAM GOUGE, D. D.

AN EMINENT ENGLISH DIVINE, WHO FLOURISHED IN THE FORMER PART OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, PASTOR OF BLACK-FRIARS, LONDON, AND A MEMBER OF THE VENERABLE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

WILLIAM GOUGE was born at Stratford-Bow, in the County of Middlesex, in England, on the 1st of Nov. in the year 1575. His parents were very respectable. His father, Mr Thomas Gouge, was a devout gentleman;

careful in the worship of God, and in the duties of religion. His mother was a virtuous and pious woman; the daughter of Mr Nicholas Culverwell, a merchant in London: and she was the sister of those two famous preachers, Messrs Samuel and Ezekiel Culverwell. And she had two sisters who were married to those two famous and learned divines, Dr Chaderton, the Master of Emanuel College in Cambridge, and Dr Whitaker, the Royal Professor of Divinity in the same University.[a]

The subject of this memoir received his classical education, partly in Paul's school, London, partly at Felsted in Essex, and partly at Eton-school. He was three years at Felsted, and during that time, he was trained up under the gospel ministry of his uncle, Ezekiel Culverwell. This ministry was highly beneficial to his soul. He often said, That if he was not thereby first begotten again to a lively hope, he was much built up in his holy faith. He was six years at Eton; and during that time, the pleasant blossoms of his early piety were amply unfolded. He possessed a large share of the fear of God. He was remarkably attentive to secret prayer, and to the sanctification of the Lord's day. With grief he observed the profanation of that day, by sports and amusements, which the Great Lawgiver has required to be kept holy. "Perhaps at no period of our history were the fashionable world ever so much devoted to pleasure and amusement as at the present, nor indeed was there ever a less regard paid to that law of God, *Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.*"[b] Many persons seem to indulge themselves in letting the world see, that they neither fear God, nor regard man. And an unblushing profanation of the Lord's-day is a sure prognostic of destruction. "The most solemn observance of this day is a duty of so commanding a nature, that we hazard in the breach of it our individual and national safety: for there cannot be a more unerring prognostic, which I hope neither we nor our latest posterity shall ever behold, of the approaching

a Clarke's Lives.

b The Instructor, No. xlv. 1808. p. 365.

downfal of this country, than an open and unblushing disregard of the Sabbath "[a] We ought to observe the open and unblushing disregard of this holy day with much grief; and to be particularly attentive to the sanctification of it, as our religious scholar was.—He was also remarkably attentive to every branch of his education at the schools; and persevered in his learning with indefatigable diligence. Having at length attained, by his indefatigable diligence, a considerable degree of classical knowledge at the grammar-schools, he was elected to King's College in Cambridge, in the year 1595. He pursued his academical studies with uncommon assiduity, and with proportionate success. He was a notable example of the great literary diligence of those times. He began his studies early in the morning, and continued them until a late hour at night. During the first three years, he did not sleep one night without the walls of the College. At the expiration of that time he was chosen Fellow, and then he paid a visit to his friends, but he soon returned to resume his studious labours. He was an acute disputant; and he took his Degrees in Arts at the regular periods, when he performed all those exercises with great applause in the public schools, which were required by the statutes of the University.

He continued nine years in the College. And during all that time, he was never absent from morning prayers in the chapel, which were usually performed about half an hour after five o'clock in the morning, except when he went out of town to visit his friends. He rose so long before, that he might have time for his secret devotions, and for reading his morning task of the Holy Scriptures. He resolved to read fifteen chapters of these every day; five in the morning, five after dinner, before he entered upon his other studies, and five before he went to bed.[b] And when he could not sleep during the watches of the night, he meditated upon these, and enjoyed then a spiritual and an intellectual feast upon the Word of God. "In whatever point of view we contemplate the Word

a The Instructor, No. xii. p. 91. b Clarke's Lives.

of God, under the sweet, the irradiating influence of the Divine Spirit, it shews a lovely and interesting countenance; every feature charms, astonishes and delights. How sublime its theory! How lovely its practice! How sweet its experiment! How glorious its perfection! If the planetary system afford pleasure to the Astronomer, far more wonderful discoveries attract the Christian in this system of grace:

> The heavens declare thy glory, Lord,
> In every star thy wisdom shines;
> But when our eyes behold thy Word,
> We read thy name in fairer lines.

Truth, wisdom, power, goodness, mercy, grace, and love, are the bright constellations of this system of everlasting beauty, while Christ, the sweet sun of righteousness, with majestic lustre, sheds the beams of glory over every page:

> O may these heav'nly pages be
> My ever dear delight,
> And still new beauties may I see,
> And still increasing light."[a]

He who is renewed in the spirit of his mind, and enjoys the supernatural influences of heaven, will make the Holy Scriptures his companions both by day and by night. "He will have recourse to them for direction, in the bright and chearful hours of prosperity; to them he will apply for comfort, in the dark and dreary seasons of adversity."[b] The knowledge of the Holy Scriptures is highly beneficial for our spiritual improvement, especially in holiness. "By continual meditation in the sacred writings, a man as naturally improves and advances in holiness, as a *tree* thrives and flourishes in a kindly and well watered soil."[c] Our pious student also wrote in a little book, which he always carried with him, the distinct heads of every particular passage in every chapter of the

a The Instructor, No. xviii. p. 140.
b Horne's Comment. on Psal. i. 2. c Horne on Psal. i. 3.

Bible, which was highly useful to him afterward. And he had stated times for making a more particular search into the meaning of difficult places of the Holy Scriptures. By such means, accompanied with the Divine blessing, he was one mighty in the Scriptures, as our reformers generally were. "Blessed are they, who seek in the Scriptures the true riches; who traffic for the spiritual gains of celestial wisdom; for surely *the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold*, Prov. iii. 14." [a]

While he was at the College, a Jewish Rabbi came to Cambridge, and was admitted into several Colleges to teach the scholars the Hebrew language. Mr Gouge, with others, readily embraced the opportunity of learning that useful language from him. Many of the scholars soon tired, and left their Jewish teacher; but Mr Gouge continued with him as long as he remained there. The value of any thing is best known by the want of it. They who did not avail themselves of the advantage of their instructor while he was among them, were obliged to lament their folly and loss when he was gone. They immediately turned their eyes toward Mr Gouge, and applied to him for instruction in the Hebrew language. He generously attended unto their request, and afforded them his assistance. By teaching them he at length attained an extensive and accurate knowledge of the Hebrew himself, and became an excellent Hebrew scholar.

He was chosen a Lecturer both in logic and in philosophy in the College, and acquired great reputation by the able manner in which he discharged the duties of that useful and important appointment.

In the first year of his Fellowship he began his Common-place-book for divinity, in which he referred to what he read. He had also white or clean paper bound between the leaves of his Bible, on which he wrote such short and energetic interpretations, and observations, on the text, as could not well be referred to any head in his Common-place-book.

a Horne's Comment. on Psal. cxix. 72.

Having continued in the College the space of nine years; and being intimately acquainted with the various branches of literature, and particularly with divinity and with the Hebrew language, he was called home by his father, and soon afterward entered into the matrimonial connexion. He was greatly delighted with an University-life, and resolved to spend more time in it than he did, if not his whole life: but Divine Providence over-ruled matters otherwise, which greatly contributed to the benefit of the church of Christ. Upon his entering into a matrimonial connexion, that he might wholly devote himself unto his studies, he committed the whole care of the secular affairs of his family to the management of his wife. Having completed his regular courses, he was admitted into Orders, or into the holy office of the ministry, in the year 1607; and in June, in the year 1608, he was called to the particular exercise of his ministry in the parish of Black-Friars, in the city of London. In this settlement he continued until his death, though he had the offer of several eminent places. He often said, That the height of his ambition was to go from Black-Friars to heaven. A good man only desires power and opportunities of doing good to his fellow-creatures, and of shewing forth his praises who hath called him out of darkness into his marvellous light. Mr Gouge discharged the duties of the pastoral office with exemplary diligence and fidelity. The able and impressive manner in which he conducted the public services of the Sabbath-day, and the amiable and condescending spirit which he shewed in the useful and important duties of visiting and catechising, were highly commendable. He commonly prayed eight times in public, on the Sabbath; both before and after reading and expounding the Holy Scriptures; and before and after each sermon; which he performed both forenoon and afternoon. Mr Leigh informs us, That he began his prayer very audibly and distinctly, which was the more commendable, because of his great congregation at Black-Friars.[a] He was eminently labori-

a Leigh's Treatise of Religious and Learned Men, Book iv. Chap. ii.

ous and faithful in dispensing the *will* of God to his hearers, and not his own fancies, nor the inventions of men; sincerely instructing them in the way of salvation, and constantly breaking to them the bread of life; always endeavouring to comfort and encourage the weak. He is said to have excelled in the logical analysis of his text, and in expounding difficult places of the Holy Scriptures when they occurred. His expressions were plain, and his style familiar. "Remember, we do not mount the pulpit to say fine things, or eloquent things, we have there to proclaim the good tidings of salvation to fallen men; to point out the way of eternal life; to exhort, to cheer and support the suffering sinner; these are the glorious topics upon which we have to enlarge—and will these permit the tricks of oratory, or the studied beauties of eloquence? Shall truths and counsels like these be couched in terms which the poor and ignorant cannot comprehend? Let all eloquent preachers beware lest they fill any man's ear with sounding words, when they should be feeding his soul with the bread of everlasting life!—Let them fear lest instead of honouring God, they honour themselves! If any man ascend the pulpit with the intention of uttering *A Fine Thing*, he is committing a deadly sin." [a]

Mr Gouge's ministry was highly beneficial to many souls. After he had finished his public labours, on the Sabbath-day, some neighbours, who were without helps in their own families, came to his house, where he repeated his sermons to them in a familiar manner, which they found to be highly useful. Afterward, he visited the sick in his parish, or such as could not attend the public ordinances. And he knew well how to avail himself of the advantages of their circumstances. He also carefully examined his parishioners, especially before they were admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. He considered himself as the devoted servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his church; and he highly esteemed, and greatly delighted in, the service of his Royal Master. [b]

a The Instructor, No. xlix. p. 394.

b See his Epistle to the Reader, before his Whole Armour of God.

He lived in all humility, and in singleness of heart, unto the Lord Jesus Christ. Beside preaching twice every Sabbath, he also set up a weekly lecture, which was much frequented for thirty-five years, not only by his own parishioners, but likewise by several ministers in London, by members of the Inns of Court, and by the more respectable and religious citizens, and even by those who came occasionally to London, respecting their secular affairs. He so highly esteemed the work of the holy ministry, that he ardently wished that all his sons might be preachers of the glorious gospel of the grace of God. He said to Lord Coventry, keeper of the great seal of England, "That he envied not his great place and employment." When we consider him as ministring to his people, and associating with his family, it is difficult to imagine a more respectable and truly amiable character. His family resembled a church in the house, for prayer, morning and evening, and reading the Holy Scriptures; and for catechising, and government. He was the delight both of his friends and of his family. His truly respectable character adorned his sacred profession. His example, both in public and in private life, may be imitated with great advantage; and ought to be considered as having a tendency to inflame our piety and zeal, and to excite our love of God and of divine things. "The great and shining examples, which display their lustre, more or less, in every period of the Christian history, must have an admirable tendency to inflame our piety, and to excite, even in the coldest and most insensible hearts, the love of God and virtue." [a] And, "It must be useful to perpetuate the memory of some of these excellent men, who are now gathered to their fathers, and to exhibit them as models to an age in which domestic religion is grown unfashionable, and families are consequently deprived of those sweet charities of life which are the fruits of true and undefiled religion." [b]

The subject of this memoir was now particularly atten-

a Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. i. Introduction, xx.

b The Christian Magazine, vol. vi. p. 50.

tive to the sanctification of the Lord's-day, both publicly and privately. His servants were not required to provide any supper the evening before the Sabbath, that they might go to bed in good time, and prepare for the approaching day. And he would not allow any servant to remain at home to prepare meat upon the Lord's-day for the entertainment of any friend. The Sabbath is a very ancient institution, Gen. ii. 3. And that it might never be forgotten, God himself was pleased to engrave it on tables of stone, and to insert it in the middle of the decalogue, with a particular note, *Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy.* See Exod. xxxi. 12—18. and xx. 8—11. "Men, by the manner in which they "regard this day to the Lord," discover the real complexion of their minds relative to him. This day will declare whether they have any knowledge and fear of God, any faith, hope, and delight in him, any love to, or desire after him." [a] I observed with much pleasure, that at Watlington, in the County of Oxford, a Society has been formed for the purpose of promoting the orderly and religious observance of the Lord's-day. The clergy, gentlemen, and tradesmen, of that town, and eleven or twelve neighbouring parishes, impressed with the idea that it was their duty to prevent, as far as their influence extends, the violation of that sacred day, agreed to the following Resolutions: 1. To pay their servants and labours their wages on the Saturday, or on some other day, in sufficient time to enable them to procure their provisions or other articles before the Sabbath. 2. To abstain from buying or selling, or suffering to be bought or sold, on their account, any goods or commodities whatsoever on the Lord's-day. And while these resolutions were framing, the clergymen observed a very laudable and exemplary conduct. They waited personally on the farmers belonging to their respective parishes, and with very general success, submitted to them the propriety of paying their labourers their wages in good time, as expressed in the first Resolution; thereby removing,

a The Instructor, No. lvi. p. 455.

so far as they are concerned, the complaint of late payment, too often made by servants of that class, and uniformly urged as an apology for violating the Sabbath.[a] A religious observance of the Lord's-day is enjoined upon us by the high authority of heaven: and we ought to prevent, as far as our influence extends, the violation of that sacred day; and, as friends of vital godliness, to excite and encourage others in the sanctification of it, by our laudable example and just authority. It should be observed agreeably to the tenor of Isaiah's heavenly language, who speaks to us in the name of the Lord of the Sabbath, Isai. lviii. 13, 14.

"What says the Prophet? Let that day be blest
With holiness and consecrated rest.
Pastime and business both it should exclude,
And bar the door the moment they intrude;
Nobly distinguish'd above all the six,
By deeds in which the world must never mix.
Hear him again. He calls it a delight,
A day of luxury, observ'd aright;
When the glad soul is made Heaven's welcome guest,
Sits banquetting, and God provides the feast.
But triflers are engag'd, and cannot come:
Their answer to the call is—*Not at Home.*" [b]

Mr Gouge was so eminently exemplary and religious in the whole course of his life, that he was called an Arch Puritan by some scoffers. He highly esteemed the religion of Jesus, which too many treat with contempt. "A set of miserable and unthinking creatures treat with negligence, nay sometimes with contempt, the religion of Jesus, not considering that they are indebted to it for all the good things which they so ungratefully enjoy.[c]

He was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of divinity, in the year 1611; and to that of Doctor in the same faculty, in the year 1628. About this time, he became one

a The Instructor, No. lvi. p. 451. Sept. 28, 1808. b Cowper.
c Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. i. Cent. i. p. 1. chap. i. end.

of the trustees of the society which had united for the purpose of buying impropriations, to bestow them on such clergymen as should be distinguished by their piety and ministerial qualifications; which occasioned his being prosecuted in the Star-Chamber. This society intended to plant a learned and powerful ministry, especially in cities and market-towns, in several parts of the kingdom, which were most destitute, for promoting the glorious gospel of the grace of God in those parts: but the court adjudged their proceedings as illegal, and dissolved the society.[a]

In the year 1643, Dr Gouge was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and was held in such reputation by that learned body, that he was often called to the moderator's chair in his absence. He was a very respectable and useful member; and preferred that public employment to any private business. He constantly attended the Assembly: and that he might not lose any time, he carried his Bible, and some other books in his pocket, in order to use them during any intermission in the affairs of the Assembly. When Episcopacy was voted down, and the bishops refused to ordain any who were not in the interest of the crown, and application was made to the Assembly at Westminster for their advice respecting this affair, they advised, That an association of some godly ministers in and about London, and in other places, be appointed by public authority, to ordain ministers for the city and other parts. Agreeably to this advice, the two Houses of Parliament passed an ordinance, 2d Oct. 1644, for the ordination of ministers for the time, which appointed ten persons, being Presbyters, and members of the Assembly, to examine, and ordain, by imposition of hands, all those whom they should judge admissible into the sacred office of the ministry. Dr Gouge was one of that number.[b] And as these ordinations were accompanied with fasting and prayer, he was observed to be peculiarly attentive to these solemn exercises on such occasions.

a Clarke's Life of Gouge. b Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. chap. iv. Calamy's Cont. vol. i. pp. 66, 67,—550.

He was also chosen by a committee of Parliament, with others, to write Annotations on the Bible, being well known to be very judicious, and eminently skilful in expounding the Holy Scriptures. His share was from the beginning of the first book of the Kings to Job. "In which the intelligent reader may observe such skill in the original, such acquaintance with the sacred story, such judgment in giving the genuine sense of the text, and such acuteness in raising pertinent observations, that without the help of any other Commentators, a man may accommodate himself with the sense, doctrines, and uses of most of those Scriptures that came under his hand, in those brief annotations." [a]

Being chosen President of Sion-College, according to custom, when he resigned his office, he preached a learned and polite sermon in Latin to the clergy, which he delivered by the strength of his memory, without the help of his notes; which shewed that though his body was weak, his mental powers were strong.

He was an excellent casuist: a sweet comforter of dejected souls, and distressed consciences. Many applied to him, both in town and country; both private Christians, and public teachers. He was esteemed the father of he London Ministers for several years. He was highly useful in composing differences. *Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.* He was eminently charitable; *doing good unto all, especially unto them who are of the house-hold of faith.* To do good was the great object of his pursuits. He disdained to accumulate useless wealth. He studied the decent advancement of his family, the generous assistance of his friends, and the benevolent relief of the indigent. He often exerted his abilities, *in the cause of the widow, the fatherless, and of him who had none to help him.* He maintained some poor scholars in the University wholly at his own expence, and contributed liberally toward the maintenance of others. He set apart a sacred stock, as he called it; a portion for the poor, proportionate to his income,

[a] Clarke's Lives.

which he faithfully distributed. "He got riches to use them, and used them so as to be honoured on their account."[a] He was a bright example of benevolence.—His temperance was very great, in his eating, drinking, clothes, and recreations. Like Luther, "He was a stranger to the elegancies of life, being superior to all selfish considerations." A great economist of time, from his youth until his death. He generally rose about four o'clock in the morning, during the summer; and in winter, he rose before it was light, that he might have the better opportunity for his own devotion, in imitation of his blessed Lord and Master, Mark i. 35. The blessed Jesus rose before it was light, that he might enjoy God and himself, in religious retirement. "It surely becomes us sometimes willingly to deny ourselves the gratifications of sleep, that we may have the better opportunity for devotion. And it should be the peculiar care of those who are employed in God's public service, to cultivate communion with him in private; lest while they keep the vineyard of others, their own be *neglected* and impoverished."[b]—Dr Gouge was singularly modest and affable; and very richly adorned with humility. He was very friendly; and his friendship, founded on religion, was highly beneficial to many; like the gentle dew upon herbs, and as the clear shining after rain. He delighted much in communion with God, and in the emanations of his love, which a stranger intermeddleth not with; and which this world can neither give nor take. Such persons possess a joy which is unspeakable and full of glory.

"While others vain delights pursue,
They taste God's love for ever new."

He was accustomed to look up constantly to God, as the author of every good and of every perfect gift; the generous dispenser of every blessing, and the wise orderer of every event. His mind was deeply impressed with a sense of God's kindness displayed in favours which had been

a Plutarch's Lives, vol. iii. Cimon. b Doddridge's Family Expositor, 4to. vol. i. Sect. 36. Improvement.

received. He was singularly warm, vigorous, and extensive, in expressing his gratitude to God for all his benefits. His gratitude increased with his years, and kept pace with the countless, and signal instances of divine goodness, and mercy which followed him all the days of his life. "The more kindness we receive, and the longer we live, we should abound the more in thanksgiving to God.—It is a service very pleasant in itself, and highly creditable to Christianity.—It approaches nearer than any other service in this world, to the employments of the blessed in heaven, who praise Jehovah without weariness, without interruption, and without end! The angels are continually employed in this delightful exercise."[a] *They shall abundantly utter the memory of thy great goodness, and shall sing of thy righteousness.* The laudable examples of the saints, whom we find frequently employed in thanking God for his goodness, are recorded for our imitation. The sweet Psalmist of Israel is eminently exemplary in this heavenly exercise; and the subject of this memoir should not be overlooked. Mr Clarke says, That there was none like him in thanksgiving He also often engaged in the solemn and extraordinary exercises of fasting and prayer, when he discovered a truly contrite heart, a very deep sense of sin, and much sorrow for it. When public *fasting* had not the countenance of the bishops, he was very helpful to Christians in their private *fasts*. In dangerous times, he united with others in humble acknowledgment of their transgressions against Almighty God, sometimes in monthly and even weekly fasts, of which many were observed in his own house, and others in his vestry. On these solemn occasions, like a genuine son of Jacob, he earnestly wrestled with God, with supplications and tears of godly sorrow, humbly imploring a removal of those evils which they professedly lamented, and that the Lord their God *would return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him.*

He was singularly inquisitive respecting the state of the

a Christian Magazine, vol. vi. pp. 27,—29.

Church of Christ, both at home and abroad; and eagerly wished to obtain the interesting intelligence of her condition, that he might know how to supplicate God in her behalf. *If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right-hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.*

He studied much to magnify Christ, and to debase himself. He was accustomed to say,—"When I look upon myself, I see nothing but emptiness and weakness; but when I look upon Christ, I see nothing but fulness and sufficiency." Every thing that we need is found in Christ, and may be derived from him as the vital head of the Church. *And of his fulness have all we received and grace for grace.* "Of what worth Christ is to us, is a question, says an old writer, which would non-plus all the saints on earth, and angels in heaven, to answer. One thing we are certain of—that no being in the universe can fill his place, and do for us what he is able to do."[a] Of this Dr Gouge was fully convinced; and to this truth he here bears ample testimony. When the hand of his body was weak and tremulous, the hand of his soul, his faith, was strong and steady. When he could scarcely hold the cup at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with his paralytic hand, while he carried it to his mouth; with a firm and fixed confidence he took hold of Christ, and with an holy and spiritual thirst applied his blood to his soul. When he returned to his house from the Lord's Supper, he very joyfully offered to God thanksgivings and praises for the abundant refreshment which he had received from the flesh and blood of his Redeemer. We always ought to serve our God with joyfulness and gladness of heart, for the abundance of his goodness.

Particular circumstances in the lives of illustrious characters may be perused with advantage, and especially those respecting their afflictions and death. Affliction and death are *trying* seasons, when Christians are concerned

a Jay's Discourses for Families, vol i. Disc. 28.

to *come forth as gold.* They then require much divine support and comfort, that they may not *faint*, and strong faith and great patience and resignation that they may not *sin.* When the subject of this memoir was afflicted with sharp and bitter pains, which were occasioned by the stone, asthma, or disease of the lungs, and other distempers, he never complained of God for his sufferings, but often of himself for sinning. He was now particularly attentive to the sovereignty and holiness of God, —the evil nature of sin, which is the cause of all trouble, and of his own sin in particular. He often said, "A great sinner, but I comfort myself in a great Saviour." Jesus is *a name above every name.* It *is as ointment poured forth* to sinners. It hath a high relish with the people of God, who are sinners saved by grace. Jesus affords comfort to his people, whom he saves from their sins, in all their afflictions, as he did to this servant of his.—In the most violent paroxysms, he said,—"Well, yet in all these there is nothing of hell, or of God's wrath." His sufferings were never so deep, but he could see the bottom of them, and say, "Soul, be silent: soul, be patient. It is thy God and Father who thus ordereth thy condition. Thou art his clay, and he may tread and trample on thee as he pleaseth. Thou hast deserved much more. It is enough that thou art kept out of hell. Though thy pain be grievous, yet it is tolerable. Thy God affords some intermissions. He will turn it to thy good, and at length put an end to all: None of which things can be expected in hell." His afflictions greatly contributed to the exercise of his grace. *Tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: And hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.*

In his extreme pains, he often repeated the words of holy Job,—*Shall we receive good from the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?* He often warmly commended his soul unto Christ, saying,—*I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.* When any of his friends proposed to

to comfort him, by mentioning the gifts which God had conferred on him, and the works which he had peformed by him as an instrument, he readily answered,—"I dare not think of any such things for comfort. Jesus Christ, and what he hath done and endured, is the only ground of my sure comfort." Similar to this, is the pathetic language of the Rev. John Willison of Dundee, in a letter to the Rev. Ralph Erskine, in like circumstances.—"Though I sometimes aimed to be concerned for the truth and interest of our Lord Jesus, and to appear as I could for the same; yet I renounce all these appearances, and all my other doings, as filthy rags, and desire only to take up my rest in Christ as the Lord my righteousness; and to lay down my head in his bosom, when my heart, flesh, and strength, fail me, as they are presently doing. O that I may die like Simeon, with Jesus in my arms, saying, *Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* I acknowledge my attainments small, and manifestations few; yet sometimes I would be saying, *I'll remember the Lord from the land of Jordan and the hill Mizar*,—though, in the mean time, I would flee from all past experiences to a present offered Christ, and a present offered perfect righteousness, and depend entirely thereon. I rest, I hope, I *live* on this righteousness: I die leaning and resting wholly on this bottom: all other bottoms are false and deceiving." [a] This subject deserves our best attention, and ought to be seriously considered. Dr Gouge was highly useful to mankind both living and dying. He was particularly attentive to the spiritual improvement of those around him on his death-bed; recommending the Saviour and his ways. His friends and acquaintances visited him now with interest, and retired highly satisfied; for he was truly exemplary in his death, as well as in his life. In this most eventful and trying season, he clearly shewed the absolute necessity of *repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*, and that it was extremely dan-

a Christian Magazine, vol. vi. pp. 152, 153.

gerous to die trusting to the general mercy of God, or to some fanciful righteousness of our own. The Great Mediator between God and men was his only comfort in death.

When death approached near, his pains increased; but in the lucid interval, he diligently improved his time, and made some farther progress in his much desired commentary upon the epistle to the Hebrews, which he eagerly wished to finish, and did finish within half a chapter, under the goodness of Divine Providence. When he was so weak that he could not arise out of his bed, he said,—"Now, I have not long to live in this world. The time of my departure is at hand. I am going to my desired haven." He often said to his friends who came to visit him in his sickness,—"I am willing to die, having, I bless God, nothing to do but to die." He called death his best friend, next to Jesus Christ. He had much familiarity with death, which was highly advantageous to him, at this time. When his sister said to him, Brother, I am afraid to leave you alone: He said to her,—"Why, sister, I shall, I am sure, be with Jesus Christ when I die." *Mark the perfect, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace.*

When the time of his departure was at hand, his spirit became more lively and cheerful, than it had been for several days before, probably from the pleasing prospect, that his death was near. His speeches were now very heavenly, as if he were already in heaven. He spake much in the admiration of God's free grace, and the riches of his mercy in Jesus Christ. He greatly rejoiced in Christ Jesus. "Jesus Christ is the very object-matter of a believer's joy; *Our rejoicing is in Christ Jesus.* Take away the knowledge of Christ, and the Christian is the most sad and melancholy creature in the world: again, let Christ but manifest himself, and dart the beams of his light into their souls, it will make them kiss the stakes, sing in flames, and shout in the pangs of death, as men that divide the spoil." [a] This remark was particularly

a Flavel's Works, vol. i. Sermon i.

verified in the illustrious subject of these pages, who was an eminent follower of them who through *faith* and *patience* inherit the promises. The power of religion, and the energy of divine grace in the soul, were clearly seen in him, in the last eventful and trying hour. He died very comfortably and piously, falling asleep in Jesus, December 12th, in the year 1653 in the 79th year of his age, having been Minister of Black-Friars almost forty-six years.[a]

Mr Neal says, "He was a modest, humble and affable person, of strict and exemplary piety, an universal scholar, and a most constant preacher, as long as he was able to get up into the pulpit." Dr Calamy gives him a similar character.[b] His name is enrolled in the catalogue of King's-College Worthies, among the learned writers of that College, in Dr Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge. His memory has been carefully preserved, and his real character transmitted to posterity, by his writings, by the biographical writers here referred to, and also in Burnham's Pious Memorials. Wood styles him a *pious and learned preacher*, and says, "He is often honourably mentioned by Voetius, Streso, and other foreign divines; and was always accounted by the Puritans eminent for his humility, patience, and faith." Granger says, he was offered the Provostship of King's-College, Cambridge, but declined to accept it; and that he was laborious, exemplary, and so much beloved that none ever thought or spoke ill of him, excepting those who were inclined to think or speak ill of religion itself.[c] Mr William Jenkin was assistant to Dr Gouge about twelve years, preached his funeral sermon, and succeeded him in the pastoral office. Mr Thomas Gouge, on whose death Dr Watts wrote an excellent elegiac poem, was the Doctor's son, and Mr Richard Roberts married his eldest daughter. These three excellent divines were ejected by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662.[d]

a Clarke's Lives of eminent Divines; Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. General Biogr. vol. iv. London, 1803. b Calamy's Cont. vol. i. p. 12. c Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 179.
d Palmer's Noncon. Mem.

Dr Gouge's Writings are;

1. *The Whole Armour of God:* Or, The Spiritual Furniture which God hath provided to keep safe every Christian Soldier from all the assaults of Satan. A Treatise on Eph. vi. 10—20. 4to. pp. 523. London, 1616—1619—1627. Folio, the 4th edit. corrected and enlarged.

2. *Eight Treatises on Domestic Duties:* viz. Particular Duties of Wives—Husbands—Children—Parents—Servants—and Masters. 4to. 1622. The 2d edition, London, 1626, folio.

3. *A Guide to go to God.*

4. *God's Three Arrows, the Plague, Famine, and Sword, in three Treatises:* 1. *A Plaister for the Plague.* 2. *Dearth's Death.* 3. *The Church's Conquest over the Sword.* 4to. London, 1631.

5. *A Treatise on the Sin against the Holy Ghost.* Folio, London, 1626.

6. *The Extent of God's Providence;* A Sermon from Mat. x. 29—31.

7. *The Dignity of Chivalry;* A Sermon preached from 2 Chron. viii. 9. before the Artillery Company of London, 13th of June, 1626. The 2d edition, 4to. 1631.

8. *The Saint's Sacrifice;* or a Comment on Psal. cxvi. 4to. 1632.

9. Two Treatises; 1. On the Sabbath. 2. On Apostacy.

10. *The Saint's Support;* a Sermon from Neh. v. 19, before the House of Commons, Fast, 29th June, 1642. 4to. pp. 40. London, 1642.

11. Mercie's Memorial.

12. *The Progress of Divine Providence;* a Sermon before the House of Peers, Fast, 24th Sept. 1645, from Ezek. xxxvi. 11. 4to. pp. 40. London, 1645.

13. A Funeral Sermon for Mrs Duck.

14. *The Right Way;* a Sermon from Ezra viii. 21, before the House of Lords.

15. Two Catechisms.

16. *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews,* 2 vols. folio, London, 1655. This is accounted a learned and highly useful work. And the pious Bishop Wilkins classes Dr Gouge's sermons among those which he calls

the most excellent of his time. Dr Gouge's part in the English Annotations has been already mentioned; and a particular account has been given of these Annotations in Gataker's Life.—Dr Gouge was, through the instigation of Bishop Neile, cast into prison for publishing again Finch's book on *The Calling of the Jews.* Having remained in prison nine weeks, he was released.

STANLEY GOWER,

MINISTER AT BRAMPTON-BRYAN, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

STANLEY GOWER was a Puritan divine of considerable eminence in the church of Christ. He was sometime Minister of Brampton-Bryan, in the County of Hereford, in England. He was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and he constantly attended during the session. Upon his removal to London, he preached at Martin's in Ludgate-street, and was also one of the preachers to the Parliament. In a sermon which he preached to the House of Commons, he entreats them to receive it for a divine *maxim*, "That piety is the best policy, and godly men are in the Holy Ghost's judgment the wisest men." He was appointed by the Assembly one of the committee for the examination and approbation of ministers who petitioned for sequestered livings. In the year 1644, he was also upon the committee appointed for the examination and ordination, by imposition of hands, of those candidates who were found qualified to be admitted into the sacred ministry.[a] He united with his brethren, the ministers in London, in their declaration against the death of the King.[b] According to Kennet's Chronicle, he was living in 1660, was then minister at Dorchester, and is denominated a zealous and eminent Presbyterian.

a. Neal's History, vol. iii. chap ii. & iv. b Neal, chap. x. vol. iii.

Mr Gower wrote the Life of Mr Richard Rothwell, published in Clarke's Lives annexed to his Martyrology. I have often seen one of his sermons which has the following singular title, "Things Now-a-doing: or, the Church's Travail of the Child of Reformation Now-a-bearing" This sermon was preached from Dan. xii. 10, before the House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, July 31st, 1644 4to. pp. 30, including an Appendix. Lond. 1644. In the application of this sermon, he warmly exhorted his auditory to display their zeal in reforming the House of God, by denying themselves and giving up thereto that which may make it glorious. And, he says, in the conclusion, for their comfort, "If any of you die before you see this great salvation of the Lord, your posterity shall inherit the blessing; and for you, it is honour enough that you expire in so great a cause."

JOHN GREENE, M. A.

PASTOR OF PENCOMBE, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

JOHN GREENE received a liberal education, and was eminently learned and pious. He was sometime pastor of Pencombe, in the County of Hereford; and he carefully fed his people with knowledge, and warned them of danger. He was much against the unhallowed Book of Sports. The appearance of that declaration was a great grievance to him, and he freely expressed his sentiments upon the subject. In his sermon from Neh. i. 3, 4. p. 19, which he preached to the House of Commons, he says: "They were my meditations upon the coming forth of that book for that sinful *liberty* on the Lord's-day, (and I did not forbear to express them) when I too often heard, in neighbouring parishes, drums beating up for a Marrice or a May-pole on that day, we had just cause to fear, lest the Lord should punish that sin, with beating up drums for a *march* on that day; and the Lord

hath brought our fears upon us. How many *marches* have been on that day, since the beginning of these wars? I have long thought it one of the highest provoking sins of this land." Mr Greene seems, with others, to have considered the Lord of Hosts, as punishing that general and leading sin, the heaven-daring profanation of the Lord's-day, by the mournful battle at Kineton, or Edge-hill, on that day.[a] He adds, "But I hope those many ordinances for suppressing this profaneness will be a good means, through God's mercy, to quench our unnatural flames, if to good laws, which are the life of a state, be added careful execution, which is the life of laws."

In 1643, Mr Greene was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; and he is in Mr Neal's list marked as giving constant attendance. He preached to the Parliament.

Mr Greene wrote and published a sermon which is entitled, "Nehemiah's Tears and Prayers for Judah's Affliction, and the ruins and repair of Jerusalem." This sermon was preached from Neh. i. 3, 4, in the church of Margaret, Westminster, before the House of Commons, upon the day of their Monthly Humiliation, April 24th, 1644. 4to. pp. 40. London, 1644.

WILLIAM GREENHILL, A. M.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT STEPNEY, AND A MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

WILLIAM GREENHILL was born in Oxfordshire. He was entered a student of Magdalen-College, Oxford, in the year 1604, aged thirteen years. He took the Degrees in Arts, that of Master being completed, in the year 1612. When and where he entered upon the holy ministry, I cannot inform the reader; but in the year

a See Mr Ashe's Life.

1643, when he was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, he was at Stepney. Wood says that "expressing himself then a rank Covenanter he was made one of the Assembly of Divines by the Long Parliament, in the year 1643, and much about the same time an Afternoon-Lecturer at Stepney, near London." Mr Greenhill constantly attended the Assembly, and was one of the Dissenting Brethren.[a] He was a zealous Puritan, greatly against the Prelates, the superstitious ceremonies, and corruptions, of the Church of England. He suffered much for his Nonconformity, while the bishops were high in place.—He was one of those divines who agreed to and subscribed the proposition, "That Jesus Christ, as King of the Church, has himself appointed a church-government distinct from the civil magistrate."—He was the person pitched upon to be chaplain to the King's children, the Dukes of York, and Gloucester, and the Lady Henrietta Maria, according to Dr Calamy. He is said to have been in favour with Oliver Cromwell, in his time. He was appointed one of the thirty-eight commissioners for the examination and approbation of preachers or ministers of the gospel, in the year 1654, who were commonly called *triers*. Bishop Kennet pours a torrent of calumny upon those eminently learned and pious divines who received this appointment. He says, "By the questions they were wont to ask, a man could not tell what they aimed at, except it was to advance Quakerism, or make way for Mahometism."[b] Mr Greenhill was cast out from Stepney, in the County of Middlesex, by the Act of Uniformity. When he died, I cannot tell; but his library was sold in 1677, and probably he might die about that time. Dr Calamy says, in his Account of the ejected ministers, vol. ii. p. 471, that he was "a worthy man, and much valued, for his great learning, and unwearied labours" Mr Howe, in his funeral sermon for Mr Mead, speaking of his connexion

a See Mr Bridge's Life.

b Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. chap. iii. Kennet's Chronicle, p. 714.

with Mr Greenhill, styles him, "That eminent servant of God Mr Greenhill, whose praise is still in the churches."

Mr Greenhill's writings are;

1. *The Axe at the Root;* A Sermon preached from Mat. iii. 10, before the House of Commons, at their public Fast, April 26th, 1643. 4to. pp. 50. London, 1643.

2. An Exposition of the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, with useful observations thereupon; in 5 vols. 4to. Vol. 1st, pp. 468. London, 1645. Vol. 2d, pp. 565.—1649. Vol. 3d, pp. 621. London, 1651. Vol. 4th, pp. 592. London, 1658. Vol. 5th is considerably larger than any of the other volumes. It was finished in the latter end of the year 1654; but not published until the year 1662. This valuable Exposition of Ezekiel was delivered in several lectures in London. It is still advertised for sale, both in London and in other places; but is now become very scarce, and the price is greatly advanced. In Mr R. Ogle's Divinity Catalogue for 1802, 5 vols. *neat* and *scarce*, £1 8s. In his Catalogue for 1809; 5 vols. *very scarce*, £1 11s. 6d. In Mr Steven and Co.'s Sale Catalogue, Glasgow, for 1811, *very scarce*, *neat*, £2 10s.

3. *Sermons of Christ's last Discovery of himself;* viz. 1. *Christ the Root of all.* 2. *His Royal Descent*, &c. from Rev. xxii. 16, 17. London, 1656.

4. Sermon before the Parliament, Ezek. xliii. 2.

5. Sermon on Ezek. xviii. 32; in the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate. 4to. London, 1661.

6. *The Sound-hearted Christian*, with several other Sermons; small piece, pp. 319. London, 1670. I have seen Mr Greenhill's writings both in Scotland and England.

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